

Philological and Historical Commentary on Ammianus Marcellinus XXVII

By

J. den Boeft, J.W. Drijvers,
D. den Hengst and H.C. Teitler



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PREFACE

The greater part of Book 27 is devoted to military operations in the western as well as the eastern half of the Roman Empire. However, the author also deals with the terms of office of four Roman urban prefects and the career of another important civil official. For these passages we benefited from M.P. van de Wiel's detailed commentary on the 'Roman' chapters in the *Res Gestae* (Amsterdam 1989). We thank Dr Colombo for kindly giving us the opportunity to consult his unpublished dissertation *Prolegomena Ammianea con specimen di commento filologico, linguistico e storico al libro XXVII delle Res Gestae*.

As usual, friends and colleagues helped us with their advice, and Ines van de Wetering corrected our English. Henri de Bie gave our drafts of the maps their final form. The publishing house Koninklijke Brill prepared the publication of this volume with professional care.

J. den Boeft
J.W. Drijvers
D. den Hengst
H.C. Teitler

INTRODUCTION

In Book 26, the first of the six books about the reign of the Pannonian emperors, Ammianus announced his decision to deal with the events in the West and the East in large, separate units in order to avoid a chaotic alternation of brief episodes. This strategy created very little alternation in Book 26, because, after reporting the start of Valentinian's campaigns against the Alamans, the author had to spend the rest of the book on a varied, and at times detailed, description of Procopius' usurpation. In the present book, which, roughly speaking, deals with events between 365 and 370, the idea behind the planned structure is more visible. Various military operations in the western and eastern half of the Empire, each against three opponents, take up a large part of the available space. Valentinian has to cope with invasions into Gaul by the Alamans, insurrection in Britain, and the first stages of a rebellion in Africa; in Valens' part of the Empire campaigns against the Goths, the ongoing Persian danger, which manifested itself in efforts to annex Armenia and Hiberia, and the damage caused by Isaurian raiders who were making a nuisance of themselves, receive due attention.

Apart from these problems on the frontiers of the Empire, Ammianus deals with internal affairs. He pays ample attention to the eventful terms of office of four Roman urban prefects and paints a picture of perhaps the mightiest civil official of the period, Sextus Claudius Petronius Probus. The most striking part of the book is, however, a long passage in which Valentinian, clearly the senior and more authoritative of the two emperors, is portrayed with reference to both his avowed principles and his actual conduct. The two chapters into which this passage has been divided form the centre of the book, which therefore has the structure of a triptych: of the two outer parts each contains an alternation of military affairs in the West and the East and reports on some notable non-military events, whilst in the central panel the personality of Valentinian takes pride of place.

Generally speaking, the various military campaigns and operations were reasonably successful. After an initial Roman setback, described in chapter 1, the Alaman intruders were heavily defeated by the outstanding general Iovinus, whose feats are the subject matter of chapter 2. In the eastern half of the Empire Valens felt he had to punish the Goths

for the support they had given to Procopius. He therefore planned invasions into their territory. This prompts the author to insert an extensive geographical digression on the Thracian provinces in chapter 4. Next, Valens' three campaigns north of the Danube are described in chapter 5. These campaigns were mainly characterized by the fact that the opponents shunned open battle and persistently avoided all direct contact with the Roman forces. Nevertheless, their fear of Roman power and the consequences of the economical blockade put in place by the Romans forced them to enter into negotiations. Peace was finally concluded in a remarkable scene on a boat in the middle of the Danube. Chapter 8 deals with a dangerous insurrection of indigenous tribes in Britain. After a hesitant start to the counteractions the general Theodosius was finally appointed to take command and he suppressed the rebellion efficiently. In chapter 9 the problems in Africa, caused by 'barbarian madness', are briefly mentioned; they will be dealt with extensively in the sixth chapter of Book 28. There is a notable difference with the other problematic areas in that here the corruption within the Roman administration, with its predictable consequences, is signalled as the main problem. In comparison with the dire prospects in Africa the trouble caused by Isaurian marauders in Pamphylia and Cilicia did not pose real problems and was, moreover, easily repaired. Chapter 10 returns to the Alamans with the description of a Roman invasion east of the Rhine, which resulted in a resounding victory, although not without losses on the Roman side. In the last chapter (12) the main enemy in the East, king Sapor, returns to the stage. Armenia and Hiberia are the bones of contention. The determined demonstration of military strength on the side of the Romans, combined with prudent diplomacy, resulted in an acceptable temporary agreement with the Persian enemy.

The various military actions contain a clear message: Roman power was still strong and able to cope with all sorts of aggression both inside and outside the Empire, but as soon as the wrong men were in command, failure was inevitable, caused either by a mere lack of competence, as in the case of the elderly general Severianus right at the beginning of Book 27, or by the inclination to rashness of the emperor himself or, far worse, by the moral depravation and corruption of leading men, as was apparent in Africa. Immoral conduct of officials had been strongly and successfully combated by Julian, but it flared up again during the reign of Valentinian, who failed to prevent it. Julian is the implicit standard of correct ruling, but he is also explicitly introduced as an outstanding

commander. At the beginning of the chapters 1 and 12 he is mentioned as the man who truly knew how to deal with the Alamans and the Persians. Indeed, it is clearly implied that, had he lived, the Alamans would not have shown any aggression nor would the Persian king have dared to claim Armenia.

This interpretation of what was happening in the first five years of Valentinian's reign obviously calls for some sort of assessment of the qualities and principles of this emperor. As has been pointed out above, this assessment is provided in the centre of the book. The entire passage has been divided into two chapters, a division which corresponds well with the contrasting contents. In chapter 6 Ammianus reports that a life-threatening illness of Valentinian, which worried his staff considerably, led to the emperor's decision to arrange his succession by nominating his eight-year-old son Gratian as Augustus. This nomination is described as a well organized ceremony by the author, who also gives the floor to Valentinian for some important speeches. In these the emperor develops a few praiseworthy ideas regarding true emperorship. This implies a total commitment to the well-being of the Empire. Indeed, the emperor should love the commonwealth as his home. During military campaigns it is his task to remain close to his soldiers. Present-day readers, who are surprised at the elevation of a young boy as a 'Kindkaiser', will look in vain for any irony in Ammianus' report. The author obviously regards the consolidation of the imperial dynasty as a normal measure, which is beneficial for the stability of the Empire, and the speeches during the ceremony testify to a healthy view of the requirements which a good emperor has to meet. The entire report is quite favourable to Valentinian. Suddenly, however, the tone changes, and Ammianus starts on what can only be regarded as a sort of indictment of the emperor, who proved to be prone to flagrant injustice. This is illustrated by an amazing list of six examples, partly of individual cases and partly of general trends in the emperor's conduct during his frequent outbursts of anger, in which he behaved with total injustice, which at times could only be checked by the timely interference of members of his staff. Valentinian's admirable principles outlined in chapter 6 are offset in chapter 7 by the description of his hideous inclination to indulge in unbounded *licentia*. The unfavourable portrait is continued and further developed in § 3–5 of chapter 9, where the emperor is accused of favouring high-ranking officers, in contrast to his harsh punishment of common soldiers, and in an amazing episode at the start of the decisive battle against the

Alamans, viz. Valentinian engaging in an impulsive and rash adventure in order to show his personal bravery, which could have had dire consequences (10.10–11).

As to civil affairs, the first part of Book 27 contains a substantial chapter (3) concerning the terms of three urban prefects at Rome. Comparable passages can also be found in Books 28 and 29. They offer the opportunity both to focus on Rome, which Ammianus repeatedly hails as the eternal city, and, moreover, to present some examples of good and bad government in trying circumstances, such as the ugly, even bloody, conflict between the supporters of two candidates for the vacant papal throne. In the last part of the book the portrait of Probus in chapter 11 stands out as an example of the despicable methods of a powerful grandee of the Roman aristocracy. He is portrayed as the opposite of what a good leader should be, in sharp contrast to Praetextatus, who during his tenure of the urban prefecture rightly received his fellow citizens' sympathy and esteem because of the many acts with which he proved his true integrity.

Ammianus' interpretation of the facts related in Book 27 is quite clear. The power and the prestige of the Roman Empire were still unimpaired, but potential dangers were closing in. Julian would have been able to stand up to the problems, but his untimely death resulted in the growing confidence of the Alamans in the West (1.1) and King Sapor in the East (12.1), and the misconduct of the main Emperor opened the floodgates of corruption and injustice: Valentinian's reign was in the process of becoming the opposite of everything that Julian had stood for.

CHRONOLOGY

Reiche, 1889, 18–31 also gives a chronological overview of the events described in Book 27. Heering, 1927, 30–36, 70 is relevant for the western, Barnes 250–252 for the eastern part of the empire. Cf. further Seeck, 1906, 519–521 and 1919, 229–239. For affairs relating to Armenia Lenski, 2007, 95–106, 123–124 is fundamental.

The first section of Book 27 ties in with the account of Procopius' usurpation in the east and its aftermath (26.6.1 et seq.) as well as with what had been reported in Book 26 about affairs in the west (26.5.7; cf. 26.4.5): *Dum per eoum orbem haec, quae narravimus, diversi rerum expediunt casus, Alamanni... Gallicanos limites formidati iam persultabant. statimque post kalendas Ianuarias... cuneatim egressa multitudo licentius vagabatur* (27.1.1). Here we have the only precise chronological reference of the entire book, *post kalendas Ianuarias*, i.e. early in January 365.

The events described by Ammianus in Book 27 range from early 365 to the end of 370. The general picture is clear, but many details are disputed. We therefore want to warn the reader, as we did in the previous volumes of our commentary, that some of the dates presented below are reasonably certain, whereas others are no more than educated guesses.

The Alamannic war

In Book 27 Ammianus gives a full account of the Alamannic war of 365–368 which he had only mentioned in passing in Book 26 (26.5.9–13). Practically from the beginning of 365 separate divisions of Alamans invaded Gaul and ravaged the countryside. During the greater part of the year the Romans did not come up with an adequate answer. A counterattack of the generals Severianus and Charietto ended in disaster (27.1.2–6), and after Charietto's death things went so far that even the standard of the Heruli and Batavi was taken; it was only recovered after a tough battle (*post cuius interitum Herulorum Bataworumque vexillum direptum... post certamina receptum est magna*, 27.1.6). Valentinian was informed about developments in the war on his way to Paris around the first of November 365 (26.5.8, q.v.) – his presence

in Paris is attested on 10–12 December 365, *Cod. Theod.* 10.19.3, 8.1.11) – and sent Dagalaifus from Paris to repair the damage (*Qua clade... comperta correcturus sequius gesta Dagalaifus a Parisiis mittitur*, 27.2.1, cf. 26.5.9, q.v.). Shortly afterwards Dagalaifus was recalled to enter upon the consulship of 366 (*accito... paulo postea, ut cum Gratiano etiamtum privato susciperet insignia consulatus*, 27.2.1, cf. 26.9.1). He was replaced by Iovinus (*Iovinus equitum magister accingitur*, *ibid.*), who proved to be the right man for the job. Presumably Iovinus started his campaign in March 366 – the emperor was in Rheims on 7 April 366, *Cod. Theod.* 8.7.9 – and defeated the Alamans twice in minor skirmishes, the first time near Scarponna (27.2.1). After that he won a brilliant victory in a hard-fought battle in the open plain near Châlons-en-Champagne (27.2.4–9). Subsequently he returned to Paris, and on his way back to this city, where he had started his campaign, he met Valentinian (*Et post haec redeunti Parisios... imperator... occurrit*, 27.2.10), presumably near Rheims, at the end of June or the beginning of July 366 (see the note ad loc.). Around the same time the severed head of Procopius arrived at Valentinian's court (*ibid.*).

Ammianus is silent about the events in Gaul in the next three chapters, which are devoted to the city prefecture of Rome (3), the provinces of Thrace (4), and Valens' war against the Goths (5). When he picks the thread up again, it is summer 367. A severe illness of Valentinian (*Inter haec Valentiniano magnitudine quassato morborum agitanteque extrema*, 27.6.1, q.v.) led to speculations about his succession (Rusticus Iulianus and Severus were named as candidates, 27.6.1–3) and eventually, after his recovery, resulted in the accession of the emperor's young son Gratian (27.6.10–11). This took place in Amiens on 24 August 367 (*ipso anno levatus est Gratianus Aug. in Gallis apud Ambianis a patre suo Aug. Valentiniano die viiii kal. Sep., Consul. Constant. a. 367, ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸν υἱὸν Γρατιανὸν βασιλέα κατέστησε τῇ τετάρτῃ καὶ εἰκάδι τοῦ Αὐγούστου μηνός*, *Socr. HE* 4.11.3; *Hier. Chron.* a.367). From Amiens Valentinian travelled via Rheims (his presence there on 8 October is attested by *Cod. Theod.* 9.40.10 and 14.4.4) to Trier (*Profectus... ab Ambianis Treverosque festinans*, 27.8.1). In Trier, where he arrived on 13 October 367 at the latest (*Cod. Iust.* 6.4.2), the emperor prepared for military actions against the Alamanni in the next year. These are related in chapter 10. The chapters in between deal with an assessment of Valentinian's character and behaviour (7), with the 'barbarian conspiracy' in Britain (8), and with troubles in Africa, brigandage in Isauria and the city prefecture of Rome (9).

In 365 and 366 the Romans had been on the defensive while the battlefield was in Gaul. We have no information about campaigning in 367,

if any there was, but in the spring of 368 (*Sub idem fere tempus*, 27.10.1, q.v.) the roles were reversed: Valentinian took the initiative, although the year started with an Alamannic raid on Mainz under prince Rando (27.10.1–2), probably at Easter, i.e. 20 April (see the note ad 27.10.2 *et quoniam*). The emperor broke camp from Trier after careful preparations (*Valentiniano ad expeditionem caute, ut rebatur ipse, profecto*, 27.10.1; *Parabatur post haec lentioribus curis et per copias multiformes in Alamannos expeditio solitis gravior*, 27.10.5), in which should be included the liquidation of the Alamannic king Vithicabius, which occurred shortly after Rando's foray on Mainz (27.10.3–4, with in § 3 *Parvo inde post intervallo*), and the summoning of reinforcements under general Sebastianus (*accito... Sebastiano comite cum Illyricis et Italicis numeris, quos regebat*, 27.10.6). Valentinian crossed the Rhine accompanied by his son (*Valentinianus cum Gratiano Rhenum transiit*, 27.10.6) and his generals Iovinus and Severus (*Iovino et Severo, magistris rei castrensis, altrinsecus ordinum latera servantibus*, *ibid.*). According to Ammianus this took place *anni tempore iam tepente* (*ibid.*), that is in spring, but in reality it may have been June or July 368 (see the note ad loc.). The Romans penetrated slowly into enemy territory (*exploratis accessibus per regiones longo situ porrectas sensim gradiens miles*, 27.10.7) and for several days did not meet with any resistance (*aliquot diebus emensis nullus potuit, qui resisteret, inveniri*, *ibid.*), which provoked some cohorts into setting fire to cornfields and dwellings; provisions which they could use for themselves were spared (*cuncta satorum et tectorum, quae visebantur, iniecta cohortium manu vorax flamma vastabat praeter alimenta*, *ibid.*). After this the emperor again slowed down his pace and came close to a place called Solicinium, where he halted when he heard that the barbarians had been spotted some way off (*post haec leniore gressu princeps ulterius tendens, cum prope locum venisset, cui Solicinio nomen est, ... stetit doctus... barbaros longe conspectos*, 27.10.8, q.v.). The Alamans occupied a high mountain nearby (*montem occupavere praecelsum*, 27.10.9) and soon hostilities ensued (27.10.9–16). Fighting was fierce and a bold action of Valentinian with a handful of companions nearly cost him his life (27.10.10–11), but in the end the Romans won the day. Many Alamans were slaughtered, whilst others fled to their haunts in the forests (27.10.15). Afterwards the soldiers returned to their winter quarters, and the emperors to Trier (*milites ad hiberna, imperatores Treveros revererunt*, 27.10.16). Valentinian and Gratian were back in Trier on 6 November 368 at the latest (*Cod. Theod.* 1.29.4).

Rome

The city of Rome, meanwhile, had been administered by four prefects in the following order: Symmachus, Lampadius and Viventius, who all figure prominently in chapter 3, and Praetextatus, whose term of office is described in chapter 9. Symmachus, already PVR in 364 and still in office on 9(10) March 365 (*Cod. Theod.* 1.6.4 and 10.1.9), was succeeded by Lampadius before 4 April 365 (*Cod. Theod.* 1.6.5 with Pergami, 1993, 193–194). It is disputed when Lampadius' term ended and that of Viventius began, according to some scholars shortly after 17 September 365, according to others early in 366 (cf. the note ad 27.3.5 *Advenit*). During Viventius' prefecture Rome witnessed the struggle for the episcopal see between Damasus and Ursinus (on 26 October 366 Damasus stormed the *basilica Liberii: obsedit basilicam hora diei secunda septimo Kalendarum Novembrium die Gratiano et Dagalaifo cons.*, *Avell.* 1.7, p. 3, 12–14). Viventius was succeeded by Praetextatus before 18 August 367 (*Cod. Theod.* 8.14.1), while the terminus post quem for the end of Praetextatus' term is 20 September 368 (*Cod. Theod.* 1.6.6). On 15 September 367 the exiled bishop Ursinus, who had been allowed to return to Rome, arrived in the city (*Avell.* 1.10, p. 4, 5–9).

It must have been during Praetextatus' urban prefecture in 368 that Sextus Claudius Petronius Probus was summoned from Rome to take over the post of PPO Italiae, Illyrici et Africae which had become vacant on the death of Vulcacius Rufinus (*Per haec tempora Vulcacio Rufino absoluto vita, dum administrat, ad regendam praefecturam praetorianam ab urbe Probus accitus*, 27.11.1), for with the opening words of chapter 11 (*Per haec tempora*) Ammianus forges a link with the end of chapter 10 about Valentinian's 368 campaign against the Alamans.

Britain

As we saw above, Valentinian was in Amiens on 24 August 367 to make his son Gratian co-emperor. The opening sentence of chapter 8 suggests that it was only after this date that Valentinian was informed about a 'barbarian conspiracy' in Britain (*Profectus itaque ab Ambianis Treverosque festinans nuntio percellitur gravi, qui Britannias indicabat barbarica conspiratione ad ultimam vexatas inopiam*). It is more likely, however, that reports about the rebellion reached the emperor earlier, maybe in June 367 (discussion in the note ad 27.8.1 *nuntio percellitur*). Valentinian, alarmed by this

news and by the fact that some Roman officers were killed (27.8.1), sent first Severus to Britain (*quibus magno cum horrore compertis Severum etiamtum domesticorum comitem misit*, 27.8.2), then Iovinus (*quo paulo postea revocato Iovinus... eadem loca profectus*, *ibid.*) and finally Theodosius, the father of the emperor Theodosius I (*postremo... electus Theodosius illuc properare disponitur*, 27.8.3). Precisely when Theodosius crossed the Channel from Boulogne-sur-Mer to Richborough (*cum venisset ad Bononiae litus... exinde transmeato lentius freto defertur Rutupias*, 27.8.6) is disputed, as is the chronology of the other measures he took to suppress the uprising (see the notes ad 27.8.3 *postremo* and 27.8.6 *exinde*). In our view the general must have left Gaul for Britain in the winter of 367/368 or the spring of 368 and restored order on the island by means of two campaigns, one described in 27.8 and to be dated in 368 (the year in which he entered London as if celebrating an ovation: *tendensque ad Lundinium... civitatem... ovantis specie laetissimus introiit*, 27.8.7–8), the other in 369, of which Ammianus gives an account in chapter 3 of Book 28.

Africa

Ammianus also allocates an extensive account of African matters to the next book (28.6). In Book 27 he only tells his readers that barbarian forays afflicted the African provinces (*Africam... exurebat barbarica rabies*, 27.9.1, cf. 26.4.5 with the notes), that the misery increased because of the slackness and rapacity of the army and of *comes* Romanus (*quam rem militaris augebat socordia et aliena invadendi cupiditas maximeque Romani nomine comitis*, *ibid.*), and that the latter was protected at the imperial court by his relative Remigius (*affinitate Remigii tunc magistri officiorum confisus*, 27.9.2). As to chronology, he notes that the troubles started right from the beginning of Valentinian's reign (*iam inde ab exordio Valentiniani imperii*, 27.9.1), that is, strictly speaking, from 25 February 364 (Socr. *HE* 4.1.1, cf. the note ad 26.1.5. *quia nullo*) onwards, which implies that they continued in the following years. In 28.6.4 Ammianus relates that the barbarian raids had already started during the reign of Jovian (*exsiluere sedibus suis Ioviano etiam tum imperante*), i.e. in 363.

Isauria

The raids of the Isaurians in Pamphylia and Cilicia on the other hand, related in 27.9.6–7, seem to have lasted no longer than about a year. After initial setbacks (for instance, the killing of the *vicarius Asiae* Musonius, 27.9.6), Roman regular troops were able to drive the brigands back into the mountains and to enforce first a truce, then peace, with the result that (Isauri) *immobiles diu mansere nihil audentes hostile* (27.9.6). These events took place during the time when Praetextatus was prefect of Rome in 367–368, for Ammianus begins 27.9.8 with the words: *Haec inter Praetextatus praefecturam urbis sublimius curans* etc.

The Gothic war

In 27.4.1, after having related affairs in the west, Ammianus turns to the east: *Dum aguntur ante dicta per Gallias et Italiam, novi per Thracias exciti sunt procinctus. Valens enim... arma concussit in Gothos ratione iusta permotus, quod auxilia misere Procopio civilia bella coeptanti*. Before describing Valens' campaigns, however, he gives a description of Thrace (27.4.2–14), where the war was to take place, to return in 27.5.1 to the point which he had reached in 27.4.1: *Procopio superato in Phrygia* (the usurper was beheaded on 27 May 366) *internarumque dissensionum materia consopita Victor magister equitum ad Gothos est missus cogniturus aperte, quam ob causam gens amica Romanis foederibusque longae pacis obstricta tyranno dederat adminicula*. The answer Victor received from the Goths was unsatisfactory and irritating: *Valens parvi ducens excusationem vanissimam in eos signa commovit* (27.5.2).

During the winter of 366–367 the emperor stayed in Marcianopolis, where he made ample preparations for the impending war, while his troops were stationed along the Danube (Zos. 4.10.3–11.1). In the spring of 367 (*pubescente vere*, 27.5.2), but not before 30 May, when he was still in Marcianopolis (*Cod. Theod.* 11.17.1), Valens concentrated his army and built a camp near a fort which Ammianus, probably erroneously, calls Daphne: *quaesito in unum exercitu prope Daphnen nomine munimentum est castra metatus* (ibid., q.v.). There he made a bridge of boats, and freely crossed the Danube (*ponteque contabulato supra navium foros flumen transgressus est Histrum resistentibus nullis*, ibid.). However, there was hardly any fighting on the other side of the river. The Goths avoided open battle and withdrew to the inaccessible *montes Serrorum* (27.5.3, q.v.), so that, apart from some minor successes of the *magister pedum* Arintheus (27.5.4), almost noth-

ing was accomplished during that summer. Valens then returned (*redit cum suis innoxius nec illato gravi vulnere nec accepto*, *ibid.*), viz. to his base of operations in Marcianopolis, via Dorostorus, where his presence on 25 September 367 is attested by *Cod. Theod.* 10.1.11 (cf. 12.6.14).

Valens' campaign in 368 (*Anno secuto*, 27.5.5), the year of his *quinquennialia* (see the note ad loc.), was even less successful. He was compelled by flooding of the Danube to abandon his plan to invade the enemy's territory (*ingredi terras hostiles... conatus fusius Danubii gurgitibus vagatis impeditus... nihil agi potuit dirimente magnitudine fluentorum*, *ibid.*). Therefore he remained inactive, according to Ammianus, near a village of the Carpi until the end of the autumn (*mansit immobilis prope Carporum vicum stativis castris ad usque autumnum locatis emensum*, *ibid.*, q.v. for the location of the *vicus Carporum* and Valens' alleged inactivity), and then he returned to Marcianopolis to his winter quarters (*Marcianopolim ad hiberna discessit*, *ibid.*).

In 369, the third year of his Gothic war (*tertio... anno*, 27.5.6), Valens crossed the Danube by means of a bridge of boats *per Noviodunum* (*ibid.*, q.v.). In Noviodunum he issued *Cod. Theod.* 10.21.1 and 10.16.2 on 3 July and 5 July 369 respectively, which implies that the crossing took place after these dates. He forced his way into barbarian territory, and after uninterrupted marches first attacked the more distant Greuthungi and then, after some minor skirmishes (and presumably on his way back), he compelled Athanaric to flee for his life (*perrupto barbarico continuatis itineribus longius agentes Greuthungos... aggressus est postque leviora certamina Athanaricum... coegit in fugam*, 27.5.6). When the campaigning season had ended, *ipse... cum omnibus suis Marcianopolim rediit ad hiemem agendam* (*ibid.*).

After three years of war the time seemed ripe for peace (*Aderant post diversos triennii casus finiendi belli materiae tempestivae*, 27.5.7; *pacem dare oportere decrevit*, 27.5.8). Negotiations were opened with Athanaric by the generals Victor and Arintheus (27.5.9), which resulted in a peace treaty, signed by the Roman emperor and the Gothic *iudex* on a boat in the middle of the Danube (*recte noscentibus placuit navibus remigio directis in medium flumen, quae vehebant cum armigeris principem gentisque iudicem inde cum suis, foederari, ut statutum est, pacem*, *ibid.*). Subsequently Valens returned to Constantinople (*hocque composito et acceptis obsidibus Valens Constantinopolim redit*, 27.5.10), where he arrived before 9 April 370 (*Consul. Constant.* a. 370). The precise date of the peace treaty is disputed; in our view it was in February or March 370 (see the note ad 27.5.9 *recte noscentibus*).

Armenia and Hiberia

Although there were some clauses pertaining to Armenia in the peace treaty which Julian's successor Jovian signed with the Persian king Sapor in July 363 (25.7.12, q.v.) and which was meant to last for thirty years (*foederata...pace annorum triginta*, 25.7.14), this did not mean that the Armenian question had been settled once and for all. In 25.7.12 Ammianus already speaks of future troubles (*postea contigit, ut etcetera*) and in 26.4.6 he again refers to the situation in Armenia. Both these passages give a foretaste of what is related in greater detail in chapter 12 of Book 27.

In 364–366, the first years of the reign of the Pannonian brothers, Sapor apparently kept a low profile (*Rex... Persidis, longaevus ille Sapor... post imperatoris Iuliani excessum et pudendae pacis foedera icta cum suis paulisper nobis visus amicus*, 27.12.1), but later he openly tried to annex Armenia with blatant disregard for the pact made under Jovian (*calcata fide sub Ioviano pactorum iniectabat Armeniae manum, ut eam... dicioni iungeret suae*, *ibid.*). At first (*primo*, 27.12.2), i.e. probably in 364–366, he encroached on Armenia by means of deception, diplomacy and minor operations (*per artes fallendo diversas nationem hominum potentem dispendiis levibus afflictabat sollicitans quosdam optimatum et satrapas, alios excursibus occupans improvisis*, *ibid.*). Subsequently (*dein*, 27.12.3), i.e. presumably in 367, he ordered the capture, banishment and execution of the Armenian king Arsaces (*captum regem ipsum Arsacen... exterminavit ad castellum Agabana nomine, ubi discruciatu ceciderat ferro poenali*, *ibid.*) and the replacement of Sauromaces as king of Hiberia by Aspacures (*deinde ne quid intemeratum perfidia praeteriret, Sauromace pulso... Aspacurae cuidam potestatem eiusdem detulit gentis*, 27.12.4). Still in that same year Sapor entrusted Armenia to two Armenian deserters, Cylaces and Arrabannes (*quibus ita studio nefando perfectis Cylaci spadoni et Arrabanni, quos olim susceperat perfugas, commisit Armeniam*, 27.12.5), and ordered them to besiege and destroy Artogerassa, a fortified town which sheltered the treasure of Arsaces as well as his wife and son (*isdemque mandarat, ut Artogerassam... excinderent, oppidum muris et viribus validum, quod thesauros et uxorem cum filio tuebatur Arsacis*, *ibid.*).

In the winter of 367–368 Cylaces and Arrabannes, who had duly begun the siege of Artogerassa (*inire, ut statutum est, obsidium duces* (27.12.6), did not get on well with their task, due to the weather conditions (*munitionum positum in asperitate montana rigente tunc caelo nivibus et pruinis adiri non poterat*, *ibid.*). Instead, after having obtained permission to hold talks with Arsaces' widow, they tried to persuade her to surrender (*ibid.*). The reverse happened. Cylaces and Arrabannes were moved to pity,

changed their plan (*in misericordiam flexi mutavere consilium*, 27.12.7) and allowed their own besieging force to be slaughtered (27.12.7–8). Thereupon Arsaces' son Papa, following the advice of his mother, left Artogerassa and fled to Valens, who was at that time in his winterquarters in Marcianopolis; the emperor advised Papa to stay for a while in Neocaesarea, where he was to receive liberal support and shelter (*Arsacis filium Papam suadente matre cum paucis e munimento digressum susceptumque imperator Valens apud Neocaesaream morari praecepit... liberali victu curandum et cultu*, 27.12.9) – the meeting of Valens and Papa in Marcianopolis probably took place shortly before 28 March 368, the day of Valens' *quinquennalia* (see the notes ad 27.5.5 *Anno secuto* and 27.12.9 *illo etiam*, where Them. Or. 8.116 b–c is quoted). The generous treatment of Papa by Valens prompted Cylaces and Arrabannes to send envoys to the emperor to ask for help and to request that Papa be appointed as their king (*qua humanitate Cylaces et Arrabannes illecti missis oratoribus ad Valentem auxilium eundemque Papam sibi regem tribui poposcerunt*, 27.12.9, q.v.). As has been explained in the introductory note to chapter 12, we follow Lenski, 2007 here and assume that these envoys were sent in the winter of 368–369 (omitted by Ammianus).

In 369 Valens still had to fight his Gothic war. He therefore refused the help which the envoys had asked for, but sent Papa back to Armenia with the help of the general Terentius to rule his people, albeit without the emblems of royalty (*Sed pro tempore adiumentis negatis per Terentium ducem Papa reducit in Armeniam recturus interim sine ullis insignibus gentem*, 27.12.10). In all probability Papa returned in the spring of 369. On hearing about this train of events, Sapor was filled with immense rage, collected larger forces and began to lay waste to Armenia by openly pillaging (*hoc comperto textu gestorum Sapor ultra hominem efferatus concitis maioribus copiis Armenios aperta praedatione vastabat*, 27.12.11). This must have been in the summer of 369. Papa, terrified by the arrival of Sapor, took refuge in the high mountains near Colchis accompanied by Cylaces and Arrabannes (*cuius adventu territus Papa itidemque Cylaces et Arrabannes... celsorum montium petivere secessus limites nostros disterrimantes et Lazicam*, *ibid.*), in all likelihood at the end of the summer or the beginning of the autumn of 369. There they remained concealed for five months and eluded the various attempts of Sapor to find them (*ubi... mensibus quinque delitescentes regis multiformes lusere conatus*, *ibid.*).

In the winter of 369–370 Sapor changed tack, because he realised that he was wasting his time in trying to find the fugitives (*qui operam teri frustra contemplans sidere flagrante brumali*, 27.12.12). Instead, he took Artogerassa,

burnt down the town and carried off the wife and treasures of Arsaces (*Artogerassam... incendit; Arsacis uxorem erutam inde cum thesauris abduxit*, *ibid.*), which prompted Valens to send general Arintheus to the east with an army to help the Armenians in case the Persians should harass them with a second campaign (*Quas ob causas ad eas regiones Arintheus cum exercitu mittitur comes suppetias laturus Armeniis, si eos exagitare procinctu gemino temptaverint Persae*, 27.12.13). Arintheus and his army probably left Thrace for Armenia soon after the peace treaty with Athanaric had been signed and the troops involved in the Gothic war had become available again for other duties (see the note ad 27.12.13 *Quas ob causas*). Sapor meanwhile achieved a success. Through secret messengers he approached Papa and told him that he was neglecting his own interests and that, although a king on the face of things, he was in actual fact the slave of Cylaces and Arrabannes (*Inter quae Sapor... Papam ut incuriosum sui per latentes nuntios increpabat, quod maiestatis regiae velamento Cylaci serviret et Arrabanni*, 27.12.14), whereupon Papa executed his allies and sent their heads to Sapor as a token of compliance (*quos ille... interfecit capitaque caesorum ad Saporem ut ei morigerus misit*, *ibid.*).

The news of Papa's defection spread widely and all Armenia seemed lost. However, the Persians, terrified by the arrival of Arintheus, decided to postpone a second invasion (*Hac clade late diffusa Armenia omnis perisset impropugnata, ni Arinthei adventu territi Persae eam incursare denuo distulissent*, 27.12.15) and merely sent ambassadors to Valens to protest against the violation of the agreement made with Jovian, and to demand that Valens should not defend Armenia (*hoc solo contenti, quod ad imperatorem misere legatos petentes nationem eandem, ut sibi et Ioviano placuerat, non defendi*, *ibid.*). These ambassadors probably met the emperor in the summer of 370, when Valens was already in the east (Socr. *HE* 4.14.1, Soz. *HE* 6.13.1; the emperor is attested as being in Antioch on 30 April and in Hierapolis on 10 August 370, see the references in the note ad 27.12.15 *Hac clade*). Their request was declined. Valens now sent Sauromaces, the dethroned king of Hiberia, back to his kingdom with twelve legions under general Terentius (*quibus repudiatis Sauromaces pulsus... Hiberiae regno cum duodecim legionibus et Terentio remittitur*, 27.12.16). Near the river Cyrus, Aspacures, who was king of Hiberia at the time, proposed that he and his cousin Sauromaces should rule the country jointly (*et eum amni Cyro iam proximum Aspacures oravit, ut socia potestate consobrini regnarent*, *ibid.*). Aspacures' suggestion was welcomed by Valens (*Quae imperator doctus, ut concitandas ex hoc quoque negotio turbas consilio prudenti molliret, divisioni acquievit*

Hiberiae, 27.12.17), who in the autumn of 370 returned to Constantinople (cf. Lenski, 2007, 105 n. 31), where his presence on 16 January 371 is well attested by *Cod. Theod.* 13.10.7. However, the division of Hiberia intensified Sapor's indignation (*His percitus Sapor pati se exclamans indigna, quod contra foederum textum iuvarentur Armenii et evanuit legatio, quam super hoc miserat corrigendo quodque se non assentiente nec conscio dividi placuit Hiberiae regnum*, 27.12.18) and he prepared for war, which was to begin *reserata caeli tempe-rie*, i.e. in the spring of 371 (*velut obseratis amicitiae foribus vicinarum gentium auxilia conquirebat suumque parabat exercitum, ut reserata caeli temperie subverteret omnia, quae ex re sua struxere Romani*, *ibid.*).

365

	Troubles in Africa in this year as well as in the following years
	The Persian king Sapor in 364–366 encroaches on Armenia using deception, diplomacy and minor exploits
Early in January	Alamans invade Gaul
March/April	Symmachus succeeded by Lampadius as urban prefect of Rome
Summer and autumn	Counterattack on the Alamans by the generals Severianus and Charietto
Circa 1 November	Valentinian, on his way to Paris, hears of Procopius' rebellion and of setbacks in the Alamannic war
November	Valentinian sends his general Dagalaifus to confront the Alamans
10–12 December	Valentinian in Paris
Autumn 365/beginning 366	Viventius succeeds Lampadius as urban prefect of Rome

366

1 January	Gratian and Dagalaifus enter upon their consulship
March/June	Campaign of Dagalaifus' successor Iovinus against the Alamans. Victories near Scarponna and Châlons-en-Champagne
26 May	The usurper Procopius beheaded

June/July	Iovinus, on his way back to Paris, meets Valentinian, presumably near Rheims. Procopius' severed head arrives at the imperial court
26 October	Bishop Damasus cum suis storms the <i>basilica Liberii</i> in Rome
Winter 366–367	Valens prepares for war in Marcianopolis

367

	Capture, banishment and execution of the Armenian king Arsaces Aspacures replaces Sauromaces as king of Hiberia Sapor entrusts Armenia to the Armenian deserters Cylaces and Arrabannes and orders them to take Artogerassa, where Arsaces' widow is hiding
30 May	Valens in Marcianopolis
Spring	Valens concentrates his troops near a fort which Ammianus calls Daphne and there crosses the Danube
June	Valentinian, informed about a 'barbarian conspiracy' in Britain, sends first Severus, then Iovinus to Britain
Summer	Severe illness of Valentinian; Valens operates north of the Danube
Before 18 August	Praetextatus succeeds Viventius as PVR; during his prefecture in 367/368 there is unrest in Isauria
24 August	Valentinian's son Gratian is made Augustus in Amiens
September	Valens returns via Dorostorus to his base of operations in Marcianopolis
15 September	The exiled bishop Ursinus, who had been allowed to return to Rome, arrives in the city
25 September	Valens in Dorostorus
September/October	Valentinian travels from Amiens via Rheims to Trier
8 October	Valentinian in Rheims
13 October	Valentinian in Trier

Winter 367–368/spring 368 General Theodosius crosses the Channel from Boulogne-sur-Mer to Richborough
 Siege of Artogerassa by Cylaces and Arrabannes; they change sides and now support Arsaces' widow and his son Papa; Papa flees to Valens.

368

March Meeting of Valens and Papa in Marcianopolis; Valens advises Papa to stay for a while in Neocaesarea

28 March Valens celebrates his *quinquennalia*

Spring/summer Flooding of the Danube prevents Valens from campaigning on the northern side of the river; he remains *ad usque autumnum* near a village of the Carpi

Spring Valentinian prepares for offensive actions against the Alamans

Easter (20 April) Raid on Mainz by the Alamannic prince Rando

April/May Liquidation of the Alamannic king Vithicabius

June/July An army under Valentinian, Gratian, Iovinus and Severus crosses the Rhine

Summer Punitive expedition of Valentinian across the Rhine; a bold action of the emperor nearly costs him his life; victory near Solicinium

20 September Campaign of general Theodosius in Britain
 Theodosius enters London as if celebrating an ovation
 Terminus post quem for the end of Praetextatus' term as PVR; in 368, during Praetextatus' prefecture, Sextus Claudius Petronius Probus is summoned from Rome to take over the post of PPO Italiae, Illyrici et Africae after the death of Vulcacius Rufinus

Autumn	Valentinian's soldiers return from across the Rhine to their winter quarters, Valentinian and Gratian return to Trier; Valens returns to Marcianopolis
6 November	Valentinian and Gratian in Trier
Winter 368–369	Cylaces and Arrabannes send envoys to Valens to ask for help, and to request that Papa is appointed as their king

369

Spring	Papa is sent back to Armenia through the agency of general Terentius
3–5 July	Valens in Noviodunum
Summer	Valens fights against the Greuthungi and compels the Thervingian <i>iudex</i> Athanaric to flee Sapor invades and pillages Armenia
End of summer/ beginning of autumn	Papa, Cylaces and Arrabannes take refuge in the mountains near Colchis and stay there for five months
Autumn	Valens returns to Marcianopolis; his generals Victor and Arintheus start peace talks with Athanaric
Winter 369–370	Sapor takes and burns down Artogerassa; he carries off the wife and treasures of Arsaces

370

February/March	Valens and Athanaric sign a peace treaty on a boat in the middle of the Danube
March	Valens sends general Arintheus with an army to Armenia
March	Valens returns to Constantinople
9 April	Valens in Constantinople
30 April	Valens in Antioch
Spring	Papa defects to Sapor and kills Cylaces and Arrabannes
Summer	Sapor sends ambassadors to Valens Valens sends Sauromaces back to Hiberia with general Terentius and twelve legions

Division of Hiberia between Sauromaces and
Aspacures accepted by Valens, rejected by Sapor
Autumn/winter Valens returns to Constantinople (on 16 January 371
he was there)
Sapor prepares for war, which was to begin *reserata
caeli temperie*, i.e. in the spring of 371

LEGENDA

1. The lemmata are taken from W. Seyfarth's Teubner-edition (Leipzig 1978), with one alteration: consonantal u is always printed as v (*venit* instead of *uenit*).

2. For references to Greek authors we follow the abbreviations and indications of books and chapters in H.G. Liddell and R. Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*. Passages in Latin authors are indicated according to the system of the *Oxford Latin Dictionary*. For later and Christian authors we follow the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*.

Some exceptions to these rules:

- In the case of Caesar, Sallust and Tacitus the division of the chapters into sections in the Teubner-editions has been taken into account.
- Seneca's *Dialogi* are referred to with the title of the individual works.
- For the *Panegyrici Latini* Mynors' OCT-edition has been used.
- Strabo is quoted from Radt's edition (*Strabons Geographica mit Übersetzung und Kommentar herausgegeben von Stefan Radt*, 4 vols., Göttingen 2002–2005).
- The Letters of Julian are quoted from Bidez' edition in the Budé-series.
- Eunapius' *History* is quoted from Blockley's edition (*The Fragmentary Classicising Historians of the Later Roman Empire*, vol. II, Liverpool 1983).
- Ausonius is quoted from Green's edition (*The Works of Ausonius. Edited with Introduction and Commentary by R.P.H. Green*, Oxford 1991).

3. As to secondary literature the following rules are observed:

- References to the six volumes of De Jonge's commentaries (Books 14–19) and to our commentaries on Books 20–26 are usually given with 'see De Jonge ad...', 'see (the note) ad...', or 'q.v.'.
- Books or articles are normally referred to with the name of the author(s), the year of publication and the page(s). The full titles can be found in the bibliography; e.g. Hagendahl, 1921, 64 refers to H. Hagendahl, *Studia Ammianea*, Uppsala 1921, page 64.
- Quotations from existing translations and secondary literature are

given between inverted commas (“...”). Our own explanations of words or phrases in Greek and Latin texts are given between single inverted commas (‘...’).

- Occasionally reference is made to commentaries on other authors, e.g. Austin’s on Vergil and Koestermann’s on Tacitus, or to well-known editions like those in the Budé-series. As a rule these works are omitted from the bibliography.
- The volumes of the Groningen Commentaries on Apuleius are indicated by *GCA* and the year of publication.
- Of the following books, which are referred to regularly, only the name of the author and the page(s) are given:

Barnes	T.D. Barnes, <i>Ammianus Marcellinus and the Representation of Historical Reality</i> , Ithaca-London 1998.
Blomgren	S. Blomgren, <i>De sermone Ammiani Marcellini quaestiones variae</i> , Diss. Uppsala 1937.
Ehrismann	H. Ehrismann, <i>De temporum et modorum usu Ammiano</i> , Diss. Argentorati 1886.
Harmon	A.M. Harmon, <i>The Clausula in Ammianus Marcellinus</i> (Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences 16, 117–245), New Haven 1910.
Jones	A.H.M. Jones, <i>The Later Roman Empire 284–602. A Social Economic and Administrative Survey</i> , Oxford 1964 (repr. 1986).
Kelly	G. Kelly, <i>Ammianus Marcellinus. The Allusive Historian</i> , Cambridge 2008.
Kühner-Stegmann	R. Kühner and C. Stegmann, <i>Ausführliche Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache</i> , II, Satzlehre, 2 vols., Hannover 1955 ⁴ , 1976 ⁵ .
Leumann	M. Leumann, <i>Lateinische Laut- und Formenlehre</i> , Munich 1977.
Marié	M.-A. Marié, <i>Ammien Marcellin, Histoire V (Livres XXVI–XXVIII)</i> , Paris 1984.
Matthews	J.F. Matthews, <i>The Roman Empire of Ammianus</i> , London 1989 (reprint Ann Arbor 2008).
Paschoud	F. Paschoud, <i>Œsime, Histoire Nouvelle, II^e (Livre IV)</i> , Paris 1979.
Sabbah	G. Sabbah, <i>La méthode d’Ammien Marcellin. Recherches sur la construction du discours historique dans les Res Gestae</i> , Paris 1978.

Seager	R. Seager, <i>Ammianus Marcellinus. Seven studies in his Language and Thought</i> , Columbia 1986.
Szantyr	J.B. Hofmann and A. Szantyr, <i>Lateinische Syntax und Stilistik</i> , Munich 1965 (repr. 1972).
Talbert	R.J.A. Talbert (ed.), <i>Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World</i> , Princeton 2000.
Thompson	E.A. Thompson, <i>The Historical Work of Ammianus Marcellinus</i> , Cambridge 1947 (repr. Groningen 1969).
Wagner-Erfurdt	J.A. Wagner, <i>Ammiani Marcellini quae supersunt, cum notis integris Frid. Lindenbrogii, Henr. et Hadr. Valesiorum et Iac. Gronovii, quibus Thom. Reinesii quasdam et suas adiecit, editionem absolvit Car. Gottl. Aug. Erfurdt</i> , 3 vols., Leipzig 1808 (repr. in 2 vols., Hildesheim 1975).

The following translations are often referred to with the name of the translator only:

Caltabiano	M. Caltabiano, <i>Ammiano Marcellino. Storie</i> , Milan 1998.
Hamilton	W. Hamilton and A. Wallace-Hadrill, <i>Ammianus Marcellinus: the Later Roman Empire (A.D. 354–378)</i> , Harmondsworth 1986.
Rolfe	J.C. Rolfe, <i>Ammianus Marcellinus</i> , with an English translation, 3 vols., London-Cambridge Mass. 1935–1939 (repr. 1971–1972).
Selem	A. Selem, <i>Le Storie di Ammiano Marcellino. Testo e Traduzione</i> , Turin 1965 (repr. 1973).
Seyfarth	W. Seyfarth, <i>Ammianus Marcellinus, Römische Geschichte. Lateinisch und Deutsch und mit einem Kommentar versehen</i> , 4 vols., Berlin 1986 ³ .
Viansino	G. Viansino, <i>Ammiano Marcellino. Storie</i> , 3 vols., Milan 2001–2002.

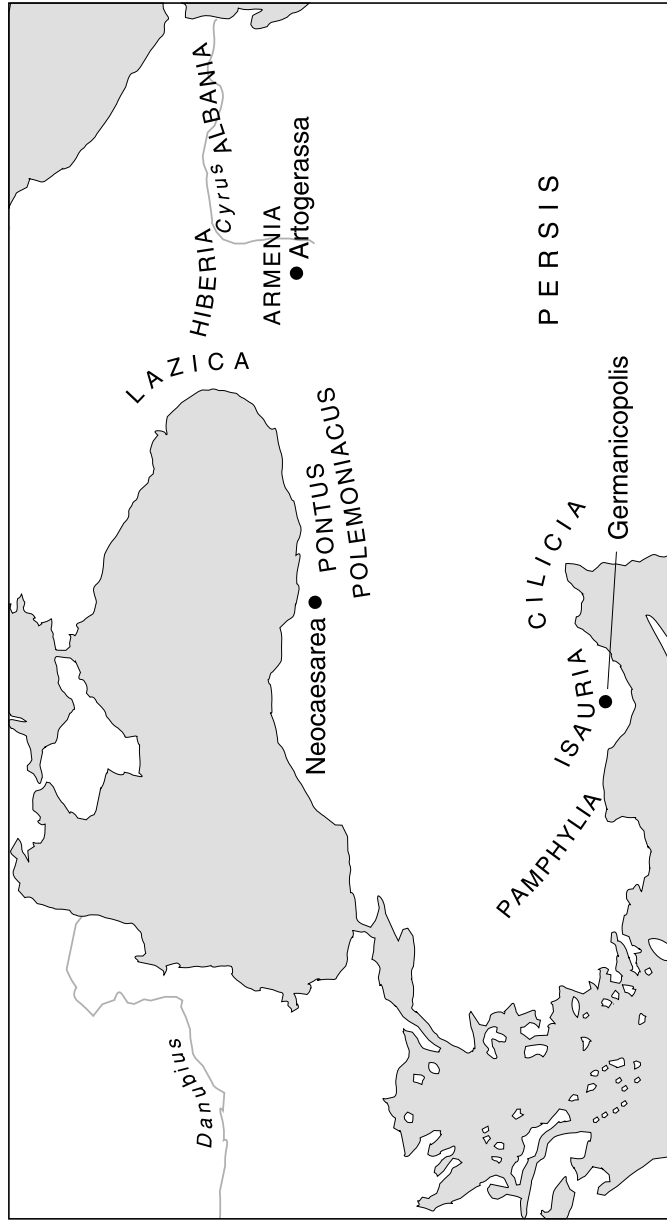
4. In cases where this is helpful for the reader or relevant for the interpretation the cursus is indicated as follows:

- *revocavit in státum*: cursus planus
- *sublátius éminens*: cursus tardus
- *fécit et vectigáles*: cursus velox

MAPS



A. The Western Provinces



C. Asia and Armenia

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

In Book 26 Amm. had stated his motive for reporting contemporaneous events in the eastern and western parts of the Empire separately: *ne, dum ex loco subinde saltuatim redire festinamus in locum, omnia confundentes squaliditate maxima rerum ordines implicemus* (26.5.15, q.v.). Having devoted the second half of Book 26 to the revolt of Procopius, he now turns to the war against the Alamans, as he had promised: *competenti loco singula digeremus nunc partem in oriente gestorum, deinde bella barbarica narraturi*.

In the beginning of the year 365 separate divisions of the Alamanni crossed the Rhine and penetrated deep into Gaul. To combat the barbarians Charietto, who is given the unusual title of *per utramque Germaniam comes*, joined forces with the old general Severianus, commander of the Divitenses and Tungricani. Together they confronted an Alamannic force. Regrettably, Ammianus does not specify the location where the battle took place.

This first military encounter resulted in disaster for the Romans. They took to flight after the death of Severianus. Charietto made a heroic stand, but like his colleague he died on the battlefield. The loss of a standard would have made the humiliation of the Roman army complete, but after prolonged fighting they managed with difficulty to retrieve it. The opening chapter of Book 27 could not have been more ominous.

Dum per eoum orbem haec, quae narravimus, diversi rerum expediunt casus For **1.1**
eous orbis as the designation of the eastern provinces see the note ad 25.8.14. The temporal clause as a whole is a variation on 26.3.1 *Dum haec in oriente volubiles fatorum explicant sortes* (q.v.). In both places the diversity of the events is emphasized, by *volubiles* and *diversi* respectively; the verbs *expedire* and *explicare* are identical in meaning ('to bring about', TLL V 2.1608.33 and V 2.1730.34); there is, moreover, a striking personification of the course of events.

post aerummosas iacturas et vulnera, quae congressi saepe Iuliano Caesari pertulerunt, viribus tandem resumptis licet imparibus pristinis Amm. opens

the sentence with the prepositional phrase, in order to focus on the grievous losses inflicted on the Alamans by Julian. The phrase is subordinated to the abl. abs. *viribus tandem resumptis*, so that the reference point is the moment in the past (ca. 364–5) when the Alamans had finally (*tandem*) recovered from the blows which Julian as Caesar in Gaul (355–361) had dealt them. For that reason one would have expected the pluperfect in the relative clause, and that is indeed what we find in E and Gelenius' edition. It is an instructive example of a 'Verschlimmbesserung' introduced by a copyist and an editor who were unaware of the impact of the cursus on Amm.'s language. In the present case it is clear that Amm. chose the perfect *pertulerunt* to obtain a cursus velox. Examples of the reverse, pluperfect instead of perfect, are 24.4.29 *Exin profecto imperatori index nuntiāverat cērtus* (q.v.) and 25.8.15 *quod rāro contigerat* (q.v.).

Iacturae refers to the losses of men, *vulnera* to the defeats of the Alamanni. The combination of the two nouns seems to be unique. For the adjective *aerumnosus* see the note ad 20.11.32 *aerumnosa perpessus vulnera et atrocita diuque deflenda*. It may be significant that these words apply to Julian's predecessor Constantius, who suffered terrible losses instead of inflicting them. As Colombo observes ad loc., Amm. uses *congregi* + dative, as in the present sentence, and *congregi cum*, as in 23.5.11 *Maximiano antehac Caesari cum Narseo... congressuro*. He aptly quotes Servius ad A. 1.475 "*congregior tibi*" *antiqui dicebant, sicut "pugno tibi", "dimico tibi". Hodie dicimus "congregior tecum", "pugno tecum"*.

By presenting the background information in this way, right at the outset of Book 27, Amm. contrasts the rule of Julian favourably with that of his successors, just as he had done several times in Book 26 (see the Introduction to Book 26, p. xi–xii and Sabbah 499). This is underlined by Amm.'s assertion that the Alamans had by no means fully recovered their former strength (*licet imparibus pristinis*). In other words, the Alamans facing Valentinian were weaker than those Julian had had to deal with. Julian's military encounters and dealings with the Alamanni in the years 356–361 when he was Caesar in Gaul are described in 16.2, 4, 16.11–12.63 (battle of Strasbourg), 17.1–2, 17.8, 10, 18.2 and 21.3–4 (Vadomarius). For recent literature see Lorenz, 1997, 33–71; Drinkwater, 2007, 217–265; for the Alamanni in general Fuchs, 1997.

ob causam expositam supra The casus belli Amm. refers to is the humiliation of the Alamannic envoys – among them possibly some important

reges; Drinkwater, 2007, 271 – who were presented with lower payments than usual and treated in an insulting manner by the *magister officiorum* Ursatius. Amm. has described the incident in 26.5.7 (q.v.). This is supposed to have happened at the court in Milan in November/December 364. The payments were probably meant to appease the Alamanni and were possibly part of the treaty Julian had concluded with them. According to Drinkwater, 2007, 270–273, the Alamanni did not become a problem immediately after Julian’s death, as e.g. Demandt, 1989, 112 supposes basing himself on Amm. 26.4.5, but only after the incident in Milan. Following a suggestion of Raimondi, 2001, 98–100 that Valentinian was aware that he would be measured against Julian, Drinkwater thinks the Alamanni were the ideal opponents for Valentinian to emulate Julian as well as to confirm his credentials as a soldier. By indicating that previous arrangements with the Alamanni were subject to review, “Valentinian [is] acting like Julian in both cowering and provoking the western enemy of his choice” (p. 272). Interesting though this view is, it seems a bit far-fetched.

Gallicanos limites formidati iam persultabant As is explained in the note ad 23.3.4 *vicino limite*, the noun *limes* is used both for an actual borderline and for border territory. The verb *persultare* ‘to scour’ shows that the latter is meant. See for this verb with its ‘ring of arrogant provocation’ 26.4.5 *gentes saevissimae limites sibi proximos persultabant* with the note. In 26.5.7 (q.v.) Amm. had related that the Alamanni crossed the border between *Germania* and Roman territory: *Alamanni...perrupere Germaniae limites*. The imperfect tense *persultabant* describes the result of this action and the perilous situation in which the *comes* Charietto will have to restore order. *Iam* is best taken with *formidati* as a variation on the preceding *viribus...resumptis*. Cf. 20.4.7 *pugnaces numeros barbarisque iam formidatos*, 26.2.11 *ambitiose stipatum iamque terribilem* (about Valentinian) *duxerunt in regiam* and 26.5.11 *perduellis iam formidatus* (about Procopius). The postposition of *iam* creates a *cursus velox*.

post kalendas Ianuarias I.e. after 1 January 365; see the note ad 26.5.7 *cum legatis*. Lorenz, 1997, 78 and Drinkwater, 2007, 268–269 argue incorrectly that the Alamannic invasions took place a year later, i.e. shortly after 1 January 366; see for the chronology of Valentinian’s Alamannic campaign already Baynes, 1928, 222–224. The Alamanni probably made use of the fact that the Rhine was frozen, as the Lentienses, an Alamannic people, did in 378; *Lentienses...Rhenum gelu*

pervium pervadunt pruinis Februario mense (31.10.4). The most convenient times of the year for crossing the Rhine were in summer when the water was low, and in winter when the river was covered with ice and the Roman Rhine fleet was not patrolling; Tomlin, 1973, 106, 150; Elton, 1996, 78–79; Lorenz, 1997, 78. Moreover, because their economy was a subsistence economy, it was impossible for the Alamanni to have a standing army: people were needed for the production of food most of the time. For that reason Alamannic military operations took place in winter time and in the summer months between harvest times (May–July, September–October); Elton, 1996, 22, 30.

cum per glaciales tractus hiemis rigidum inhorresceret sidus Amm. chooses a high-flown expression to describe the severe winters in this part of the world. *Sidus* is practically equivalent to ‘season’ (OLD s.v. 5), as in Verg. *A.* 4.309 *quā etiam hiberno moliris sidere classem?*, unless Amm. is thinking specifically of Capricornus, as in Germ. *Arat.* 597 *rigidum aegoceri signum*. See also the note ad 20.7.11 *ante brumale sidus* and for *inhorrescere* cf. Apul. *Mun.* 9 *mox gelatus umor rigore frigoris inhorrescit*. The notion of freezing is reinforced by the adjectives *glaciales* and *rigidum*.

cuneatim egressa multitudo licentius vagabatur In 24.2.14 (q.v.) Julian ventures out on an attack against the gate of Pirisabora *cuneatim stipatus* ‘surrounded by a closely-packed formation’. It is used in a similar way in 30.1.5 to describe the escape of king Pap from Tarsus: *egressus cuneatim properabat intrepidus*. In the present passage *cuneatim* refers to the different detachments (*cunei*) in which the Alamans operate, like the Huns *ineuntes proelia cuneatim* (31.2.8). Amm. uses *licenter* or *licentius* more than thirty times, mostly concerning barbarian raids in the borderland of the Empire; see the note ad 20.1.2 *inquietorum hominum*.

Barbarian invaders of Roman territory often split up in smaller groups to be able to cover a wider area and to find supplies. This dispersal on the one hand made them less organised and therefore vulnerable to their Roman enemy, on the other hand it made them elusive and difficult to defeat; Elton, 1996, 76. From Amm.’s text it appears that the Alamannic forces which invaded Roman territory were divided into at least three units. Charietto and Severianus attacked the nearest one (*proximae*, 1.2) and were defeated by it. In chapter 2 Amm. speaks of three groups of Alamanni who were all defeated by Iovinus. One was crushed at Scarponna (2.1), another near a river (2.2) – possibly the Moselle – and a third division, the main force, was vanquished

by Iovinus *prope Catelaunos* (2.4). One of the three Alamannic forces mentioned in chapter two may be identical with the division which had defeated the Roman army under the command of Charietto and Severianus.

Lorenz, 1997, 80–81 suggests that the Alamanni crossed the Rhine at Strasbourg, as they did in 357, and from there marched in the direction of Metz. In the vicinity of Metz the Alamannic army split up into the three groups mentioned above, of which the main force possibly had as its goal either Rheims or Paris.

Maybe Vithicabius, son of Vadomarius and *rex* of the Brisigavi, was behind the new invasions: *cum enim Vithicabius rex, Vadomarii filius, ... ardores in nos saepe succenderet bellicos* (27.10.3); Lorenz, 1997, 78 and 114 with references to older literature.

horum portioni primae Charietto, tunc per utramque Germaniam comes, occursurus cum milite egreditur ad bella ineunda promptissimo There are traces in V, admittedly barely visible, on the basis of which Eyssenhardt in his editio maior printed *proximae*. The corrector Vm2 changed *proximae* to *primae*. Petschenig, 1892, 682 was of the opinion that *proximae* should be kept if Eyssenhardt's observation was correct. Colombo agrees, also because *proximae*, unlike *primae*, produces a regular cursus (*velox*). He quotes other instances of Vm2 introducing new mistakes in the text or aggravating mistakes already made by the copyist. Perhaps one may add that *proximae* makes slightly better sense than *primae*. In the preceding section we read that the Alamanni did not operate as a regular army, but in disconnected units (*cuneatim*). In such a loose configuration it is easier to understand that Charietto marches against the 'nearest' band of Alamans rather than against the 'first' or 'foremost'. The verb *occurrere* in the sense of "to meet or confront in a hostile manner" (OLD s.v. 5) is found frequently in the *Res Gestae*. The present sentence recalls 26.5.9 *Et Alamannis quidem occursurum Dagalaifum pergere mature praecepit* (q.v.). The warlike spirit of the soldiers is in sharp contrast to the following characterization of Severianus.

Charietto (*PLRE* I, Charietto I) was a barbarian who came from the northern bank of the Rhine; he was possibly of Frankish descent. Before 355 he settled in Trier and fought a sort of guerrilla war against barbarians who crossed the Rhine for nocturnal raids into Roman Gaul. He was extremely successful and soon assembled a group of *λῆστοι* around him. As Caesar in Gaul Julian made use of Charietto and his robber band to fight the barbarians. It is, however, unlikely that

Charietto held an official position under Julian. He did help Julian in reducing the threat posed by the Quadi (Zos. 3.7.5–7); see Paschoud n. 16, according to whom the threat was posed by the “Chauques Saxons et Chamaves” rather than by the Quadi. This is the second time Amm. mentions Charietto. The first time was in 17.10.5 where he reports that Charietto was employed against the Alamanni; he captured an Alamannic guide on the orders of Julian; *Nesticæ tribuno Scutariorum, et Chariettoni, viro fortitudinis miræ, imperaverat Caesar, ut magna quaesitum industria, comprehensumque offerrent sibi captivum, et correptus velociter adolens ducitur Alamannus pacto obtinendæ salutis pollicitus itinera se monstraturum* (with note De Jonge ad loc.). Zosimus, who provides ample information about Charietto, speaks about his great courage and his gigantic proportions: Ἀνὴρ τις ἦν μέγεθος σώματος ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας ἔχων, καὶ τὴν ἀνδρείαν ἀνάλογον τῷ σώματι (3.7.1). Also Eun. *fr.* 18.5: Χαριέττων μὲν οὖν καὶ πρὸ τούτου φανερός τις ὢν καὶ ἀνυπόστατος τῷ τε πλεονάζοντι τοῦ δραστηρίου φοβῶν ἀνεῖχεν ἀπὸ ληστείας ἅπαντας, (“Since Charietto was well known even before this, invincible and terrifying because of his many deeds of daring, he stopped them all from brigandage”, tr. Blockley). See further Waas, 1971², 80–81; Paschoud, 2002; Welwei & Meier, 2003.

per utramque Germaniam comes Charietto’s function is extensively dealt with by Scharf, 2005, 27–37.

ascito societatem laboris Severiano itidem comite invalido et longaevo, qui apud Cabyllona Divitensibus praesidebat et Tungricanis Severianus (*PLRE* I, Severianus 4) is only known from this passage unless the *dux* Severianus to whom *Cod. Theod.* 5.7.1, dated 20 June 366, is addressed is the same person. If that is the case it would imply that he recovered from his injuries which are mentioned by Amm. in section 4 of this chapter; cf. *PLRE* I, Severianus 5. For Seyfarth’s peculiar unwillingness to add *in* or *ad* to the verb *asciscere* (in spite of 21.13.13 *ascitis in societatem*, q.v., and 25.5.8 *ad umbram imperii Iovianum adhuc protectorem ascitum*) see the note ad 26.2.7 *utiliter gloriose*. The adverb *itidem* is a favourite of Amm. (TLL VII 2.564.27), who uses it 74 times, often in enumerations of the type 20.7.1 *tres legiones... secunda Flavia secundaque Armeniaca et Parthica itidem secunda*. As Colombo notes, the ominous characterisation of Severianus as weak and old is reminiscent of Verg. *A.* 5.715–6 *longaevosque senes ac fessas aequore matres / et quidquid tecum invalidum metuensque pericli est*.

Cabyllona, modern Chalon-sur-Saône, Talbert 18 B3 (*Cabillonum*), is mentioned in 15.11.11 as one of the six important cities of *Lugdunensis prima*. When in 354 Constantius prepared his attack on the Alamanic kings Gundomadus and Vadomarius, the Roman troops were also concentrated there (14.10.3 *miles tamen interea omnis apud Cabyllona collectus*). Remembering this, Adrien de Valois was able to emend the ms. reading *Calidona*, of which his brother Henri had confessed “de quo loco nihil usquam legere memini.”

Divitensibus praesidebat et Tungricanis These were the *Divitenses seniores* and *Tungricani seniores*; *Not. Dign. Occ.* 5.147–148. See for these *legiones palatinae* the note ad 26.6.12 *Divitenses Tungricanosque*. For *praesidere* see the note ad 26.7.5 *Iulius comes*.

proinde confertius agmine in unum coacto ponteque brevioris aquae firma celeritate transmisso For *proinde* see the note ad 26.1.2. Here it introduces the consequences of the collaboration between Charietto and Severianus. The first abl. abs. describes how the troops of the two commanders are united and arranged in serried ranks (*confertius*). The compression of the two bits of information into one sentence has probably caused the use of the singular *agmine*; one would have expected *agminibus coactis*. The expression *in unum cogere* occurs also in 21.7.6 *Persarum copias in unum coactas*. In classical authors we find *in unum locum cogere*, e.g. *Caes. Gal.* 2.5.4 *omnes Belgarum copias in unum locum coactas*. The comparative *confertius* is found only in Amm., who uses it five times, 19.6.9, 20.7.6 (q.v.), 24.1.2, 24.7.7.

1.3

It is not immediately clear whether *ponte* is an instrumental abl. or the Head of a second abl. abs. *ponte tramisso*, because both *exercitum transmittere* ‘to send an army across’ and *pontem transmittere* ‘to build a bridge across’ are found: *Tac. Ann.* 6.37.3 *ponte navibus effecto tramissoque exercitu* and *Suet. Cal.* 22.4 *super templum Divi Augusti ponte transmisso Palatium Capitoliumque coniunxit*. In Amm. the river is normally the object of *transmittere*: 18.2.8 *ne transmitteret flumen*, 23.2.7 *Euphrate navali ponte transmisso*, 24.6.4 *flumine raptim transmisso*. The details about the shallow water (see for this meaning of *brevis* the note ad 25.1.2 *dirimente*) and the quickness with which the action was completed make better sense when referring to the building of a bridge than to sending an army across, so that the latter alternative seems slightly preferable. For the gen. *brevioris aquae* cf. 14.2.15 *praeterito Calycadni fluminis ponte* and 23.5.4

per navalem Aborae pontem. One would have been grateful, if Amm. had provided the name of the river in question.

V's *firma celeritate* is difficult to interpret; Seyfarth's "in aller Eile" evades the problem and Marié's "avec efficacité et rapidité" sounds attractive, but parallels for *firmus* in this sense are lacking. Petschenig, 1897, 381 proposed *summa*, which is palaeographically perfect, as the two words would look practically identical in V. On the other hand, *festina celeritate* is found also in 30.2.6 *Scytharum auxilia festina celeritate mercante* and is a prime example of Amm.'s *abundantia sermonis*. For a full discussion see Hagendahl, 1924, 203. The fact that a rare word like *festina* is more liable to mistakes than the ordinary *summa* may tip the balance in favour of the latter alternative.

Vegetius relates that legions carried with them *scaphae* (a sort of canoe), ropes and sometimes iron chains, planks and nails to cross rivers and streams that had no bridges and could not be forded: *Scaphas quoque de singulis trabibus excavatas cum longissimis funibus et interdum etiam ferreis catenis secum legio portat, quatenus contextis isdem, sicut dicunt, monoxylis, superiectis etiam tabulatis, flumina sine pontibus, quae vadari nequeunt, tam a peditibus quam ab equitatu sine periculo transeantur* (mil. 2.25.5); *Sed commodius repertum est, ut monoxylos, hoc est paulo latiores scafulas ex singulas trabibus excavatas, pro genere ligni et subtilitate levissimas, carpentis secum portet exercitus, tabulatis pariter et clavis ferreis praeparatis* (mil. 3.7.7–8). Another way to cross water was by driving piles into the river bottom and covering them with boards, or by tying together empty barrels and placing timbers upon them: *Navigeri vero amnes stilis fixis ac superpositis tabulatis pervii fiunt vel certe tumultuario opera colligatis inanibus cupis additisque trabibus transitum praebent* (mil. 3.7.5). See also Elton, 1996, 245–246 for river crossings.

visos eminus barbaros Romani sagittis aliisque levibus iaculis incessabant For the term 'barbarian' in the *Res Gestae* see the notes ad 20.4.1 *a barbaris* and 26.5.12 *ne interneciva*. Amm. uses *incessere* both of military attacks, as in 20.11.17 *Persae propugnaculis insistentes sagittis incessabantur et fundis telisque igniferis* (q.v.) and, equally often, of verbal abuse: 25.6.6 *verbis turpibus incessabant ut perfidos*.

quae illi reciprocis iactibus valide contorquebant For *reciprocus* and its derivatives see the note ad 26.7.15 *inter reciprocantes missilia* and cf. 29.5.25 *Mazicas in unum collectos invasit iam tela reciprocantes volitantia grandinis ritu*. For *contorquere* see the note ad 26.10.19 *et ad secundum* and cf. 21.12.10

contortis malleolis madentibus pice, harundine quin etiam, sarmentis ac vario fomite flammaram incescebantur.

ubi vero turmae congressae strictis conflixere mucronibus Verg. *A.* 2.449–450 **1.4**
strictis mucronibus imas / obsedere fores probably was the model both for the present passage and for Tac. *Hist.* 1.27.2 and 2.41.2. Amm. uses the abl. abs. also in 15.4.9 and 24.6.11. There is a note on *turma* ad 24.3.1 *pro-cursatorum*. Here it has the general meaning of a military unit or force and refers both to Romans and Alamanni. Unfortunately, Amm. does not inform his readers where and when exactly this military encounter took place. An educated guess would be the spring of 365 considering the fact that the Alamanni invaded Roman territory not long after 1 January 365. As to where the encounter took place, Colombo suggests that it happened north-west of Vesontio, modern Besançon. He argues that since the Divitenses and Tungricani, who were stationed in Cabyllona/Chalon-sur-Saône, were put into action, the Alamannic threat must have come from the Brisigavi. This Alamannic people crossed the Rhine not far from Colonia Augusta Raurica (Kaiseraugst) and pushed westwards along the main route from Cambete (possibly modern Kembs) to Cabyllona/Chalon-sur-Saône via Vesontio/Besançon. Somewhere along this route, north-east of Vesontio/Besançon the Romans and Alamanni encountered each other with disastrous results for the Roman forces. Zos. 4.9.2 has the information, generally considered incorrect, that it was Valentinian himself who engaged in battle with the Alamanni and was defeated: Ὑπαντήσαντος δὲ αὐτοῖς τοῦ βασιλέως μάχῃ συνίστατο καρτερὰ, καὶ ἐνίκων οἱ βάρβαροι, τὸ Ῥωμαίων προτροπάδην διώξαντες στράτευμα; Paschoud n. 123.

nostrorum acies impetu hostium acriore concussa According to TLL 1.408.56–71 the phrase *aciem concutere* for ‘to shake the enemy’s ranks’ is found only here. More usual expressions are – *inclinare*, *perfringere*, *perrumpere*, *profligare*, *turbare*. The comparative *acriore* is not written c.c., since *acri concussa* would also have provided a regular cursus (*planus*). It means either that the Alamannic attack was more forceful than that of the Romans, or – more likely – that it was extraordinarily vehement.

nec resistendi nec faciendi fortiter copiam repperit The fact that the Romans had to give way robbed them of any opportunity to distinguish themselves in battle. *Fortiter facere* is almost a t.t. in Amm., who uses it in 15.5.35, 17.6.3, 17.10.2, 24.3.4, 24.5.11, 31.3.1. See also TLL VI

1.1163.69–1164.14, where it is glossed as ἀριστεύειν. The expression *copiam reperire*, ‘to get a chance’ is extremely rare; TLL IV 911.84.

cunctis metu compulsis in fugam, cum Severianum vidissent equo deturbatum missilique telo perfossum The only parallels for *equo deturbare* are Liv. 35.35.18 *impetum facit et transfixo equo tyrannum deturbat, iacentem equites confodiunt* and Dict. 4.3 (Achilles Penthesileiam) *equo deturbat manu comprehendens comam atque ita graviter vulneratam detrahens*. This is the only instance in Amm. of *missile telum* in the singular. It may have been prompted by Verg. A. 10.773 *telum, quod missile libro* or Liv. 21.8.10 *phalarica erat Saguntinis missile telum*.

- 1.5 *dum cedentes obiectu corporis et vocis obiurgatorio sonu audentius retinet* The unmistakable echo of 25.4.10 *nostros cedentes obiecto pectore suo aliquotiens cohibuit solus* (q.v.), describing Julian’s heroism, pays ample tribute to the bravery and the leadership of Charietto, whom Amm., when he introduced him in 17.10.5, had qualified as *viro fortitudinis mirae*. The phrase *vocis obiurgatorio sonu* is also found in 14.7.12, 18.8.5 and 30.6.3 (*verborum* –). See De Jonge ad 18.8.5, who traces it to Gellius, and for *sonu* the note ad 14.6.18.

pudendumque diluere dedecus fiducia diu standi conatur, oppetit telo letali confossus The choice of the verb *diluere* is unexpected, since Amm. uses it normally in the sense of ‘to dilute’, as in 15.12.4 *Gallos post haec dilutius esse poturos* or ‘to refute’, as in 14.9.3 *nec diluere obiecta permissi nec defensi periere complures*. In the present passage it may have been chosen because it makes the alliteration *pudendum... dedecus* even more striking. *Fiducia diu standi* is best taken as a gen. inversus and paraphrased as *diu fidenter stando*, the verb being used in its pregnant sense “to stand firm” (in battle or combat; OLD 3, quoting inter alia Liv. 2.6.11 *non stetit solum, sed etiam ab sua parte Romanum pepulit*). The words *oppetit telo letali confossus* are an artful variation on *missilique telo perfossum* in the preceding sentence, *telo* ousting the more common *vulnere*. For *oppetere* ‘to fall in battle’ cf. 20.4.8 *iussa morte oppetere* with the note.

- 1.6 *post cuius interitum Herulorum Batavorumque vexillum direptum* The reader remembers Julian’s furious reaction to a similar disgrace during the Persian expedition: 24.3.2 *concitus ira immani... duo tribunos sacramento solvit ut desides et ignavos; decem vero milites... exauctoratos capitali addixit*

supplicio. For *vexillum* see the note ad 24.3.1 *unum rapuisse*. The Heruli and Batavi, who often operated together, were contingents belonging to the *auxilia palatina*. They are mentioned regularly by Amm.: 20.1.3 (q.v.), 20.4.2, 27.8.7. According to Zos. 4.9.2–4 Valentinian held the Batavi responsible for the defeat. In the presence of the whole army the emperor commanded that they be stripped of their arms and punished by being sold as runaway slaves for public deportation. They begged to be spared such shame and promised that they would show themselves worthy Romans, whereupon the emperor asked them to prove this by their actions. They were re-armed and resumed the battle with such enthusiasm that few barbarians got safely home.

quod insultando tripudiantes barbari crebro sublatum altius ostendebant The verb *tripudiare* is used to describe the wild war dances of barbarian nations, especially the Celts; cf. Liv. 23.26.9 *tripudiantes more suo*; 38.17.4 *ad hoc cantus ineuntium proelium et ululatus et tripudia*. In a less literal sense it means ‘to be in a jubilant mood’; cf. 28.3.9, where it is said that Theodosius the Elder *tripudiantes...relinquens provincias ut Furius Camillus uel Cursor Papirius victoriis crebris et salutaribus erat insignis*; Cic. *Sest.* 88 *illum tot iam in funeribus rei publicae exultantem ac tripudiantem*. The abl. of the gerund *insultando* is not the equivalent of a present participle, but modifies *tripudiantes*. The rejoicing of the Alamans is meant to humiliate their adversaries.

post certamina receptum est magna Amm. could have been a little bit more precise here. Should we imagine that the soldiers who were put to flight by the Alamanni resumed battle, as Zos. 4.9.4 reports, and recaptured their standard, or was it retaken at a later moment?

CHAPTER 2

Introduction

The heavy defeat which the Alamans had inflicted on a Roman army led by Charietto and Severianus called for a swift reaction. The *magister equitum* Dagalaifus was charged with the task to set things right. He proved to be the wrong man for warfare against the guerrilla-like tactics of the adversary, so that he was relieved by another experienced general, Iovinus, who twice caught a section of the Alamans' forces by surprise and defeated them with ease. These successes were, however, only the preliminaries of a hard-fought battle in the open plain near Châlons-en-Champagne, which ended with a clear Roman victory. Valentinian was delighted and soon afterwards rewarded Iovinus with a consulship.

Sabbah 205–206 regards Ammianus' description of Iovinus' operations as an adaptation of the general's official report. Details showing this are, for instance, the references to the information gathered by espionage, the precise numbers of victims on both sides, the ascription of partial setbacks to subordinates, and the explicit mention of the general's excellent military virtues. All this is plausible, but it should be added that in an entirely different context Iovinus was called *dux meriti celsioris* by Amm. himself (25.8.11). Apart from this, whatever the provenance of the facts which he mentions, the historian is responsible for the words which he has written.

Qua clade cum ultimo maerore comperta The adjective expresses the high degree of alarm and dismay at the Roman headquarters in Paris; cf. *ultima desperatio* (16.2.1), *compulsus ad ultimos metus* (16.12.60). Valentinian seems to have been confident that the Alamannic invasions could be stopped without his personal interference. As is argued ad 26.5.8 *Et circa*, he only heard about the defeat of Charietto and Severianus around 1 November 365 while he was on his way to Paris from Milan, which he had probably left after 24 September 365 (*Cod. Iust.* 11.62 [61].3). Zos. 4.9.2–4 focuses on Valentinian's anger at the detachment of the *Batawi*, whose flight had originated the rout of the Roman army.

correcturus sequius gesta Dagalaifus a Parisiis mittitur Cf. 26.5.9 *Et Alamannis quidem occurrentum Dagalaifum pergere mature praecepit, qui vastitatis propinquitibus locis longius discesserant incruenti* with the extensive note ad loc. See for *corriger* denoting putting right what has gone wrong, e.g. military reverses, the notes ad 17.13.26 *correximus*, 21.3.2 *negotium*, 25.4.25 *quae omnia*. Valesius' correction of V's text was inspired by 27.8.2 *correcturum sequius gesta*. Apart from eight instances in Apuleius, this comparative is rarely used, in contrast to *secus*, which in Amm. occurs more than twenty times; see the note ad 20.8.11 *nec actum* on the meaning of *secus*, and especially its connotation 'wrongly'. For Dagalaifus see the notes ad 26.1.6 *Dagalaifo*, 26.4.1 *silentibusque*, and 26.5.2 *et Dagalaifus*. Valentinian sent Dagalaifus against the Alamanni at the end of 365; when exactly is hard to establish, but probably sometime in November. Amm. had already given the same information, but in a different context in 26.5.9, quoted above. However, he was quickly recalled, surely before 1 January 366, when he was inaugurated as consul together with the emperor's son Gratian. Tomlin, 1973, 150, 495 has shown that, even though the first-known law of the consuls Gratian and Dagalaifus seems to date from 7 April 366 (*Cod. Theod.* 8.7.9; cf. Pergami, 1993, 321–323), there is no reason to suppose that Dagalaifus only entered the office of consul in March 366. This was later defended by Lorenz, 1997, 79–80. Nor is there any reason to suppose with Lorenz, 1997, 76, 78 and Drinkwater, 2007, 268 that Dagalaifus fought two campaigns against the Alamanni, one at the end of 365 and another one at the beginning of 366. Lorenz' and Drinkwater's suppositions are based on the date they give for the main Alamannic invasion, namely January 366: this date is wrong.

eoque diu cunctante causanteque diffusos per varia barbaros semet adoriri non posse Note Dagalaifus' lack of confidence and conviction, which becomes manifest both in his hesitation and in his excuses, and which contrasts conspicuously with the prudent resolution of his successor Iovinus, who took advantage of the Alamanni being 'scattered all over the country'. Unconventional tactics seemed to be needed to defeat them: a sort of guerrilla warfare and surprise attacks such as Charietto had applied in the 350s – see the note ad 27.1.2 *Charietto* – and to which Dagalaifus' successor Iovinus also reverted. See for *causari* denoting excuses for not taking a particular action the note ad 25.5.3 *eoque causante* and for *diffusos per varia* the note ad 21.8.3 *quo diffusi*.

ut cum Gratiano etiamtum privato susciperet insignia consulatus This repeats 26.9.1 *translato vero in Gratianum, adhuc privatum, et Dagalaifum amplissimo magistratu* (q.v.). See for Gratian's consulship together with Dagalaifus Bagnall et al., 1987, 266–267.

Iovinus equitum magister accingitur et instructus paratusque cautissime observans utrumque sui agminis latus venit prope locum Scarponna Cf. for *accingi*, 'to prepare oneself for military action', 17.5.8 *viribus totis accinctus*, 31.8.10 *accinctis ad proelium*. See for Iovinus *PLRE* I, Iovinus 6, and the note ad 26.5.2 *Iovinus*. The 'pleonastic' combination of *instructus* and *paratus* occurs in many authors: e.g. twenty instances can be found in Livy. Cf. for *caut(issim)e* taking the last position in a rhythmical colon 15.8.13 *praeundo cautissime*, 16.11.14 *frumenta insidiarum metu colligit caute*. Cf. for *observare*, 'to keep a watchful eye on, to guard', Ov. *Met.* 1.513–514 *armenta gregesque/ ...observo*. Bömer ad loc. notes that the verb is not commonly used to denote a shepherd's main task. In the present text the phrase adds to the characterization of Iovinus as a prudent and careful commander, whose successful raids were not prompted by rashness.

The army marched in a large column, probably in the form of a square, the *agmen quadratum*, as it did in 27.2.8 *in agminis quadrati figuram producto exercitu*; for this marching formation see the note ad 24.1.2 *agminibus*. Vegetius (*mil.* 3.6.13–15) describes how a marching army protected itself. It was led by the cavalry; then followed the main body of the infantry; after the foot-soldiers came the baggage train, although sometimes the baggage train was positioned within the infantry columns. Light-armed infantry and cavalry bring up the rear. In case of the enemy being close by, the cavalry protected the infantry on the flanks; see Elton, 1996, 244–245. *Scarponna* is modern Dieulouard on the Moselle which is located on the route between Lyon and Trier; Petit & Mangin, 1994, 178–179 (no. 177); Talbert 11, G4. Marié n. 158 mentions that on the left bank of the Moselle, on the fringes of Dieulouard, many bones of men and animals as well as a hoard of 163 coins have been found. This might indicate that Iovinus' crushing of the Alamanni had taken place at this site.

It may have taken Iovinus some time to prepare his troops properly for his Alamannic campaign, which probably did not start immediately after Dagalaifus' return. Amm.'s remark that Iovinus approached the second division of the Alamanni while being covered by the thick growth of trees, combined with the information that some Alamanni were bathing in a river (*abditusque in valle densitate arbustorum obscura videbat*

lavantes alios, 27.2.2) when they were surprised by Iovinus, suggest that the defeat of this division took place in spring, when the trees had begun to grow leaves again, and it was warm enough for the Alamanni to be bathing in a river. Iovinus' campaign may therefore have started in March; see Tomlin, 1973, 496. Amm.'s information in § 10 of this chapter, that Iovinus returned to Paris after his successful campaign (*Ei post haec redeunti Parisios*), indicates that Iovinus had started off in Paris, *pace* Lorenz, 1997, 80, according to whom Iovinus started off his campaign in Rheims because Valentinian was staying there. The emperor's presence there is not attested before 7 April 366 (*Cod. Theod.* 8.7.9); about his whereabouts during January-March nothing is known and he may still have been in Paris during these months where his presence is attested for 10 and 12 December 365 (*Cod. Theod.* 10.19.3, 8.1.11); Tomlin, 1973, 495. Lorenz, 1979, 80 is correct that it was Iovinus' strategy "die Alamannenfront von Osten nach Westen aufzurollen"; however, his suggestion for Iovinus' routes is doubtful since there is no evidence for the reconstruction of these routes.

ubi inopinus maiorem barbarorum plebem, antequam armaretur, temporis brevi puncto praevenit ad internecionem exstinxit The Alamanni did not expect an attack and were therefore unarmed. According to *Veg. mil.* 3.18.14 an experienced general never misses the opportunity for raids and surprise attacks on an enemy unprepared for battle: *exceptis superventibus vel incursionibus repentinis ex occasione, quam numquam dux exercitatus amittit*. Usually Alamanni seem not to have been heavily armed. Their infantry was equipped with a spear, a shield and with weapons for throwing such as axes and javelins; richer men might have had a sword. The weapons of the cavalry, which was much smaller in numbers than the infantry, were similar to those of the infantrymen. A horse rider could also carry a bow. Armour and helmets were not common among the Alamanni. See for the 'barbarian' military equipment Elton, 1996, 60–72.

Predicatively used *inopinus* is dealt with in the note ad 24.3.1 *pro-cursatorum*. The comparative *maiorem* can be explained in an absolute sense: 'quite big' or relatively: 'bigger (than Iovinus' forces)'. Amm. uses *plebs* to denote various large groups. See the note ad 20.6.6 *ad quam* for a survey. The present text belongs to the fourth category mentioned there: "the mass of common soldiers, especially of non-Roman peoples". The phrase *temporis puncto* (or *puncto temporis*) is used by several authors, but the addition of pleonastic *brevi* occurs only here

and in 31.8.8 *puncto temporis brevi*. TLL X 2.1101.40 sqq. lists a number of cases in which *praevenire* has the connotation of surprise: ‘to catch unaware’, e.g. 17.8.1 (about Julian) *Alamannos praevenire studio maturabat ingenti*. See for Amm.’s predilection for the phrase *ad internecionem* the relevant note ad 23.6.7.

exsultantes innoxii proelii gloria milites ad alterius globi perniciem ducens sensimque incedens As is expounded by Seager 43–45 (cf. also the note ad 23.5.8 *exsultantius*), delight at a military success can be excessive and arrogant, e.g. Procopius in 26.8.13: *Ea victoria ultra homines sese Procopius efferens*, but this is not always the case. “Elation inspired by joy is often positively valued” (44). The present case is an example. In the eyes of the author the soldiers had every reason to be delighted by their success, which had not entailed any damage or losses. See for examples of *innoxius* denoting “deest damnum” TLL VII 1.1721.10 sqq., e.g. *innoxia...flamma* (Verg. *A.* 2.683–4), *eisdem suis manibus innoxios reddidisti* (Pan. 12.13.3), Amm. 19.6.1 *innoxio die cum hostili clade emenso*. See for *globus* denoting a tightly packed group the notes ad 16.12.49 *exiluit* and 20.5.1 *armatarum*. Iovinus’ competent leadership is again stressed by *sensim*, ‘cautiously’.

2.2

rector eximius speculatione didicit fida direptis propius villis vastatorium manum quiescere prope flumen As is explained in the note ad 20.1.1 *rectore*, the term *rector* is used by Amm. to denote all kinds of high officials and officers. After Amm.’s favourable references to Iovinus’ actual leadership the laudatory adjective *eximius*, which he seldom uses, does not surprise the reader. By designating Iovinus as *rector eximius* and *ductor egregius* (§ 8) Amm. compares him favourably to the generals Charietto and Severianus, who were defeated by the Alamanni, and Dagalaifus, who did not (dare to) confront them; his victories evoke Julian’s triumphs over the Alamanni. Sabbah 206 thinks that Amm. may have seen in Iovinus “le discret substitut” of Julian. The river is likely to be the Moselle, but the Marne is also possible; Drinkwater, 2007, 269–270. It is not clear where exactly Iovinus bumped into the second division of the Alamanni. Possibly he marched from Scarponna downstream in the direction of Trier; somewhere along this route he encountered the Alamannic second division. Like the first division at Scarponna, this second division was also unaware of the presence of the Roman army. Apparently the Alamanni lacked adequate intelligence about the movements of Iovinus’ troops.

Cf. for *speculatione fida* the note ad 26.10.4 *speculationibus fidis Equitius doctus* and for *vastatoriam manum* the note ad 18.6.9 *vastatoria(e) manu(s)*. The phrase denigrates the enemy's forces as mere brigands.

iamque adventans abditusque in valle densitate arbustorum obscura videbat lavantes alios, quosdam comas rutilantes ex more potantesque nonnullos The particle *iam* expresses that very soon after the information provided by spies Iovinus and his men arrived at the place where the Alamans were resting. Some of them were 'bathing': cf. for *lavans* as part. praes. of *lavari*, 'to bathe', Hor. *Serm.* 1.4.75 *lavantes*, Liv. 44.6.1 *Lavanti regi*. This is Amm.'s only instance of *rutilare*, "to colour (the hair) bright or golden red" (OLD s.v. 2). Lindenbrog refers to D.S. 5.28.1 and Tac. *Ger.* 4.2 *rutilae comae*. Cf. also Liv. 38.17.3 *rutilatae comae* (of the Gauls) and Tac. *Hist.* 4.61.1 (about Civilis) *propexum rutilatumque crinem* (see Heubner ad loc.); Plin. *Nat.* 28.191 reports that a good method for dying the hair red was invented in Gaul: *prodest et saepe, Galliarum hoc inventum rutilandis capillis*. As to the colour denoted by *rutilus*: D.S. 5.28.1 writes τῶν δὲ κόμαις ἐκ φύσεως ξανθοί, which seems rather to correspond with *flavus*; however, as André, 1949, 86 ff. points out, *rutilus* undoubtedly denotes a lively red colour, but with the specific connotation of "l'intensité de son éclat". It may especially be this 'glow', which Germans and Celts contrived by dying their hair, at the same time lending it a yellowish or orangelike hue.

Drinking was a beloved pastime of the German peoples according to Tac. *Ger.* 22.1 *diem noctemque continuare potando nulli probrum*. Anderson notes ad loc.: "Many other races were accused of excessive drinking". The more remarkable is Amm.'s remark about the Persians, which contrasts with a host of other testimonies: *maximeque potandi aviditatem vitantes ut luem* (23.6.76, q.v.).

- 2.3 *et nactus horam impendio tempestivam signo repente per lituos dato latrocinalia castra perrupit* Other examples of *nancisci*, "to acquire (an opportunity or favourable circumstance)" (OLD s.v. 2), in Amm. are 17.13.1 *tempus aptissimum nacti*, 21.7.3 *nactus hanc opportunitatem*, 31.5.3 *Id tempus opportunum nacti*. The phrase *impedio tempestivus* occurs five times, and in various contexts, in the *Res Gestae*. See the relevant note ad 25.3.15. The phrase *signo per lituos dato* also occurs in 19.2.12, 23.5.15 (q.v.) and 31.7.10. For *lituus* see the note ad 23.5.15 *signo*, and on musical instruments in the army in general the notes ad 24.4.15 *clangore Martio* and 24.5.9 *sed ubi*.

When the trumpet had sounded, Iovinus' men attacked the encampment 'of the gangsters'; cf. Amm.'s characterization of an important Saracene leader: *famosi nominis latro* (24.2.4, q.v.). Usually Amm. designates the Alamanni as *barbari* (e.g. 27.1.3, 6; 2.1, 8). However, this group he apparently considers no better than *latrones* and a marauding gang (*vastatoriam manum*, § 2). Only in one other instance does he call a group of Alamanni *latrones* (16.12.6). The Saxons are also once called *latrones* (28.5.7), but in general Amm. reserves the term for the Isaurians (14.2.8, 20; 27.9.7).

See for *perrumpere*, 'to invade', the note ad 21.7.2 *ne Africa*.

contraque Germani nihil praeter inefficaces minas iactanter sonantes et fremitum In reply the Alamans were only able to make a lot of noise, which had no effect at all. This is Amm.'s only instance of *inefficax*, which is by no means a rare word. Cf. 15.4.9 about the Alamanni: *frendendo minas tumidas intentantes*. In the present text their misplaced arrogance is expressed by *iactanter*.

nec expedire arma dispersa nec componere aciem nec resurgere in vires permittebantur urgente instante victore They failed to transform their three leisurely activities, bathing, dying their hair and drinking, into three urgently needed military measures: getting their weapons ready, creating a battle formation and reviving their physical strength. See for the personal passive construction with *permittere* the note ad 20.2.5 *nec patefieri*. Meurig-Davies, 1950, 91–92 defends V's *urgente instante*, referring to Blomgren's well known defence of the instances of 'asyndeton bimembre' in Amm. However, his list of cases does not contain any reference to the present text. Nevertheless, there is no compelling reason to emend one of the two into an adverb: *urgentius* or *instantius*. See for the combination of the two verbs inter alia Verg. *A.* 10.433 *instat et urget* with Harrison's note, Cic. *Mil.* 87 *instabat urgebat*, Att. 13.32.1 *urge insta perfice*. In any case Amm. wants to express the relentless pressure of the Roman invaders of the camp.

forati pilis et gladiis The *pilum*, the heavy javelin for throwing and fighting at a distance, and the *gladius*, the short sword for thrusting during close combat, were the traditional weaponry for a Roman legionary; Le Bohec, 1994, 122–123. In the fourth century the *pilum* or *spiculum* as it was also known in the fourth century – on which see Veg. *mil.* 1.20.20, 2.15.5; Southern & Dixon, 1996, 112–113; Stephenson, 1999,

52–58 – was still used but was gradually replaced by the *lancea* which could be used both for throwing and thrusting; Nicasie, 1996, 190. The *gladius* seems to have been replaced by the *spatha*, a long sword for slashing; Southern & Dixon, 1996, 103 f.; Stephenson, 1999, 61, 70–71. In *mil.* 2.15.4–8 Vegetius presents a survey of the armament of the various cohorts in battle formation.

quos versos in pedes texere flexuosi tramites et angusti The phrase *verti in pedes*, ‘to take to one’s heels’, seems to be an idiosyncrasy of Amm., who uses it seven times. The note ad 18.2.14 *vertuntur in pedes* contains a long list of comparable phrases in Amm. TLL VI 1.907.63 sqq. provides instances of *flexuosus* qualifying all sorts of *itineria*. The words quoted in the lemma are no doubt somewhat commonplace, yet they are not superfluous, in that they testify again to Iovinus’ control of the situation: he did not allow his men to be engaged in a potentially dangerous pursuit of fleeing enemies who were protected (*texere*) by the unfavourable terrain.

- 2.4 *Hoc prospero rerum effectu, quem Virtus peregerat et Fortuna, aucta fiducia* Cf. 19.11.2 *in effectus animabitur prosperos*. The combination of *Virtus* and *Fortuna* brings to mind the famous passage in 14.6.3, where it is stated that the cooperation of the two forces led to Rome’s greatness. This had been dealt with implicitly by Polybius: the Romans contrived their hegemony οὐ τύχη οὐδ’ αὐτομάτως, ἀλλὰ καὶ λίαν εἰκότως, viz. in the hard way, learning from experience (1.63.9; see Walbank ad loc.: “Fortune favoured the Romans because they were worthy”). Plutarch devoted his treatise Περὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων τύχης (*De Romanorum fortuna*) to the question whether Ἀρετή or Τύχη was the superior force in Roman history. In the introduction to his history Florus says concerning the Roman people: *tot in laboribus periculisque iactatus est, ut ad constituendum eius imperium contendisse Virtus et Fortuna videantur*. Such passages testify to an ongoing debate. See Ensslin, 1923, 73–74, Marié, 1989.

The combination of luck and intrinsic qualities also occurs sometimes concerning prominent men, e.g. the single combat between Aeneas and Turnus: *fors et virtus miscentur in unum* (Verg. *A.* 12.714). Servius ad loc. notes *id est casus in Turno, virtus in Aenea*, but Williams’ note ad loc. is more probable: “the *fors* and *virtus* of each”. Livy has a number of instances, the most striking of which is perhaps the following. In chapters 17–19 of Book 9 he develops a substantial answer to the question how the Romans would have fared in a war with Alexander

the Great. Among the many comparisons which work out favourably for the Romans he offers the following reflection: *paginas in annalibus magistratuumque fastis percurrere licet consulum dictatorumque, quorum nec virtutis nec fortunae ullo die populum Romanum paenituit* (9.18.12). A very interesting case is reported by Amm. in 15.8.2: Constantius complains that the burden of his manifold tasks is becoming too heavy; then his advisers start flattering him, *nihil esse ita asperum dictitantes, quod praepotens eius virtus fortunaque tam vicina sideribus non superaret ex more*. Here *fortuna* accompanied by an adj. or phrase meaning ‘high’ denotes the imperial dignity; see for this the note ad 20.10.1 *celsiore fortuna*. The remarkable phrase ‘neighbouring the stars’ seems to be a variation of Plin. *Pan.* 89.2 *nam tu quoque, si non sidera, proximam tamen sideribus obtines sedem*, which was already anticipated in 24.5 *te ad sidera tollit humus ista communis*. Julian’s soldiers reacted in a comparable way; see the note ad 21.5.9 *fortunatum*. A great leader not only has excellent personal qualities, he is also protected by heaven. In the present text the two forces are the Agens of Iovinus’ success, which implies that the editorial decision to use capitals is plausible.

militem ducens diligenti speculatione praemissa in tertium cuneum, qui restabat Iovinus’ success against the Alamanni was a combination of well equipped and carefully prepared troops (*instructus paratusque cautissime*, § 1), swift action to surprise the enemy (*inopinus*, § 1; *maturato itinere*, § 4), and adequate scouting (*speculatione didicit fida*, § 2). Concerning *speculatione* Wagner notes: “speculatoribus”, which is obviously correct; see for other cases of abstractum pro concreto in Amm. the notes ad 20.3.10 *exortus*, 23.5.9 *fidem*, 25.2.2 *quidquid*. See for *cuneus* denoting any group of soldiers the note ad 25.6.7 *ausi*; cf. also the note ad 20.11.6 *contis*.

omnem prope Catelaunos invenit ad congregiendum promptissimum Catelauni has been mentioned before by Amm. in 15.11.10 *huic annexa secunda est Belgica, qua Ambiani sunt, urbs inter alias eminens, et Catelauni et Remi*. It is to be identified with modern Châlons-en-Champagne, formerly named Châlons-sur-Marne; Elliott, 1983, 159; Raimondi, 2001, 124 n. 156; Drinkwater, 2007, 276. Strangely, *Catelauni* does not occur in Talbert; he only mentions Durocatala(u)num which is also identified with Châlons-en-Champagne/Châlons-sur-Marne; Frézouls, 1976; Talbert Directory I, 151. *Catelauni* and Durocatala(u)num are most likely one and the same town. Iovinus’ strategy had apparently been first to vanquish the two smaller Alamannic divisions at Scarponna and the

unspecified place situated close to the Moselle, and in this way getting at the rear of the third division, the main Alamannic host, “bunching them up and cutting off their retreat” in the words of Drinkwater, 2007, 277; also Lorenz, 1997, 80.

Cf. *promptissimum genus ad lacessendum certamen* (Liv. 44.4.2), *promptissimus ad occursandum pugnandumque* (Gel. 3.7.6), *cum milite... ad bella ineunda promptissimo* (Amm. 27.1.2). The third group of Alamanni would be a far harder nut to crack.

- 2.5 *et vallo opportune metato suisque pro temporis copia cibo recreatis et somno* Stereotyped phrases, which up to this point in the chapter cropped up here and there, now begin to proliferate. See the notes ad 24.4.6 *metatis* and 25.4.11 *salubriter*. The perfect tenses of the verb *metari* often have a passive meaning: cf. Hirt. *Gal.* 8.15.2 *castrisque eo loco metatis*, Hor. *Carm.* 2.15.14–16 *nulla decempedis metata privatis... porticus* (see Nisbet-Hubbard ad loc.). TLL IX 2.780.65 sqq. provides examples in which *opportune* “spectat ad situm locorum idoneum”; cf. e.g. 20.6.9 *id monumentum opportune locavit antiquitas*, 31.3.5 *castris... opportune metatis*, and see also 24.1.3 about Pyrrhus: *opportunis in locis castra metandi... scientissimus*. The *vallum* is a earthen wall or rampart topped by palisades surrounded by a fosse. The palisade on the wall was made of sticks of very strong wood which the soldiers carried with them; Veg. *mil.* 1.24.4 *supra quam sudes de lignis fortissimis, quas milites portare consueverant, praefiguntur*; see also the note ad 25.6.5 *undique*. The protection of the camp gave the soldiers the opportunity to regain their strength before the climactic battle against the Alamannic army; Crump, 1975, 75–76. Another precaution, apart from not being sent into battle when fatigued from marching, was that the soldiers were treated to a light meal to prevent them from getting tired during the battle because of hunger; Veg. *mil.* 3.11.3, 7.

See the note ad 24.3.8 *pro tempore*, where it is explained that this phrase denotes the limited possibilities offered by the situation. In the present case the commander Iovinus’ wish to finish the job determines the limitations. Cf. also 25.5.1 *corpore enim curato pro copia rerum et temporis*. The verb *recreare* occurs more than twenty times in the *Res Gestae*; cf. e.g. 19.2.5 *cibo recreati et somno*, 21.12.12 *quantum recreandis viribus quiete et cibo satis fuit tributo*; cf. also 31.11.4 *cibo et quiete curatis*.

primo aurorae exortu in aperta planitie composuit aciem dilatatam arte sollerti Cf. 20.3.1 *a primo aurorae exortu* (q.v.) and see the impressive list of Amm.’s

expressions denoting daybreak in Hagendahl, 1921, 102–103. Remarkably, an ‘open plain’ is by no means a common phrase. Comparable phrases are 14.2.12 *planitie porrecta*, 21.10.4 *spatiosa camporum planities*, 25.8.6 *per porrectam planitiem*, 31.11.4 *planities lata camporum*. According to Veg. mil. 3.9.6–7, 3.13.3 armies that are strong in cavalry should opt for plains to fight their battles; if strong in infantry, confined places, i.e. sites obstructed by ditches, marshes or trees, should be chosen.

The note ad 24.1.3 *laxatis* deals with the common tactical device of ‘extending’ a formation in order to make it look larger than it really is. Julian, for instance, used it in his Persian campaign by extending his marching column; see also the note ad 25.3.2 *exercitus*. Amm.’s use of *sollers* and *sollertia* (see the notes ad 21.12.16 *sollerti* and 24.7.2 *cuius utilitate*) shows his appreciation of cleverness in military matters.

inferiores numero, licet viribus pares Numerical inferiority is a problem during military actions which is referred to by various authors; cf. e.g. Caes. Civ. 1.57.1 *Erat multo inferior numero navium Brutus*, Veg. mil. 3.9.20 *pauciores numero...sub bonis ducibus reportaverunt saepe victoriam*, Amm. 31.7.16 *in numero longe minore*. Here the author hastens to add the Roman soldiers’ equality in strength with a phrase for which Livy has a predilection, e.g. 2.11.10, 3.5.8, 8.38.8, 22.27.7, 27.28.16.

signo itaque per bucinas dato cum pede collato res agi coepisset, et sueta vexillorum splendentium facie terrii steteri Germani Note that the order of the clauses is chronological: first the hornblast, then the joining of the battle, followed by the momentary halt of the Germans: from a syntactical point of view the conjunction *cum* has been ‘postponed’; see for this *traiectio* Kühner-Stegmann 2.614–615. See for the role of the *bucina* and other musical instruments in the army the notes ad 20.7.6 *hinc inde*, 24.4.15 *clangore Martio*, 24.5.9 *sed ubi*; the *bucina* was used to signal special manoeuvres as well as to wake the soldiers in the morning. For the phrase see the note *et nactus* ad § 3 above. Apart from this passage there are five other passages in Amm. which describe the alarm of the enemy caused by the glittering and shining appearance of the Roman army; 18.2.17, 27.5.3, 28.5.3, 29.5.15, 31.10.9.

The phrase *pedem conferre* is dealt with in the note ad 25.1.18 *quibus saepe*. It is difficult, if not impossible, to pinpoint the syntactical function of *et*. The assumption that it connects *signo...dato* and *sueta...facie* would imply that the Germans were scared by the horns signalling the beginning of the battle, which does not sit at all well with their being

fully prepared for this: *ad congregiendum promptissimum* (§ 4). A comparable problem is posed by *sueti*: why would they be afraid of the ‘usual’ radiance of the standards? The only other explanation might be that *sueti* denotes the viewpoint of the Roman soldiers: in contrast to their opponents they were ‘accustomed to’ the glitter. However, the fear inspired by such glitter is mentioned by Vegetius: *plurimum...terroris hostibus armorum splendor inportat* (mil. 2.14.8); cf. Amm. 31.10.9 *nitore fulgentes armorum imperatorii adventus iniecere barbaris metum*. The explanation of the psychological effect which the splendour of the Roman army had, may be found in “the value placed upon the almost supernatural power supposed to lie behind a pose, a costume, an expression, a set of words”; MacMullen, 1964, 441; see also Bitter, 1976, 125–126. See further the note ad 25.1.1 *radiantes loricae*. In view of this Müller, 1873, 353 seems to be right in assuming the loss of *in* and proposing to read *insueti* and to remove *et*. He points to a comparable loss of the preverb in 25.8.4 *pendentium aerumnarum*; see the note *Dum nos* ad loc. *Germani*, a generic term for the peoples living in *Germania*, is here used as a synonym for the Alamanni.

quibus hebetatis parumper reparatisque confestim ad usque diei extimum concertatione protenta See for *hebetare*, ‘to stun’, the note ad 20.11.11 *clausorum*. Cf. for *reparare* denoting the restoration of mental power 26.2.10 *animorum reparate vigorem atque membrorum*; in the present text, it is used, like *hebetare*, about the persons themselves. In the note ad 21.11.3 *futurae* it is pointed out that wellnigh all instances of *concertatio* in Amm. denote ‘armed battle’. Cf. also 19.1.9 *interneciva certamina ad usque finem diei protenta*, 29.5.48 *usque diei extimum pugna protenta*. From a list in TLL V 2.1994.23 sqq. it appears that there are very few instances of *extimus* before the first century A.D. Since then it becomes more frequent, although *extremus* is used far more often: there are sixteen instances of *extimus* in Amm. against 56 of *extremus*, among which *extremum diei* in 19.2.10 and 19.7.8.

validius imminens miles fructum rei bene gestae sine dispendio quaesisset Cf. for *imminere*, ‘to press on with threatening force’, 18.6.10 *imminentium hostium terrore percita*, 31.15.4 *rabies imminens*. The agricultural metaphor (cf. Var. R. 1.4.1 *utilitas quaerit fructum*) does not occur particularly frequently in Amm. and only in one other case where military actions are concerned: 17.13.13 *fructuque vincendi*. The phrase *sine dispendio* is significant in view of the sequel: eventually the fruits were reaped, but not ‘without cost’.

ni Balchobaudes armaturarum tribunus magniloquentia socordi coalitus propinquante iam vespera cessisset incondite See *PLRE* I, Balchobaudes. He is only known from this passage in Amm. His name clearly indicates that he was of Germanic descent; Waas, 1971², 76. Amm. mentions one other *armaturarum tribunus*, Mallobaudes (14.11.21 and 15.5.6), who was also of Germanic provenance. As is noted ad *exsilivit* (25.3.5), *armatura* denotes light-armed troops. Balchobaudes was tribune of a *schola armaturarum*, presumably light cavalry; Nicasie, 1998, 47. Rolfe's translation "tribune of the heavy-armed guard" is incorrect.

Amm. uses *socors* only in one other place, about the besiegers of Aquileia, whose fear of dangers was overcome by their shame, *ne socordes viderentur et segnes* (21.12.8). Such a lack of energy in soldiers, and a fortiori in officers, was indeed despised by the author, as appears most clearly in the case of his *bête noire* Sabinianus, *cultus quidem senex et bene nummatus, sed imbellis et ignavus* (18.5.5), who instead of showing true leadership in the dangerous war against the Persians was loitering *per Edessena sepulchra...more vitae remissioris fluxius agens*, "leading a life of dissolute luxury" (18.7.7, tr. Hamilton). In the present text the 'boastful language' Balchobaudes was 'imbued with' was not matched by any courageous feats. At the approach of evening, when he could and ought to have carried on until darkness would end the fighting, he yielded in a culpable manner. One cannot imagine Iovinus or Valentinian leaving such a cowardly action unpunished. See for *coalitus* the notes ad 21.5.2 *actibus* and 21.12.22 *pulvere*. As is noted ad 20.11.24 *vespera*, Amm. uses the masc. forms of this word less often than the feminine ones. The final position of *incondite* is c.c., but has also the character of a climax: even the withdrawal from the battlefield took place in an unorganized manner; see the note ad 22.6.2 *interpellabant*.

quem si secutae residuae cohortes abissent, ad tristes exitus eo usque negotium venerat, ut nec acta nuntiaturus quisquam posset superesse nostrorum Although Amm. often uses *residuus* as a synonym of *reliquus* (see the note ad 20.4.6 *residuis*), here it has the meaning 'who still remained (after the untimely retreat of Balchobaudes and his men)'; see the note ad 25.5.2 *Arintheus*. Amm. uses the term *cohors* both for infantry and cavalry units; see the note ad 21.11.2 *addita*.

The combination *tristis exitus* does not occur very often; some examples: *tristis exitus habuit consulatus* (Cic. *Brut.* 128), *Ti. Gracchi gravissimi civis tristis exitus* (V. Max. 1.6.8), *eorum tristes exitus flemus* (Cypr. *Laps.* 23). See for the indicative mode of the pluperfect tense in the apodosis of an

irrealis Szantyr 328–329 and cf. also the note ad 22.10.4 *gaudebam* on the comparable use of the ind. imp. In his note ad *quod si impetrasset* (14.3.2, pages 79–81) De Jonge gives a list of cases in Amm. Possibly the present text is an example of a function of *posse* which is dealt with in the note ad 20.7.17 *quidquid*: sometimes the notions ‘possibility’ and ‘uncertainty about the future’ are difficult to distinguish. In the present text *posset superesse* does not seem to differ markedly from *superesset*.

- 2.7** *sed resistens animorum acri robore miles ita lacertis eminuit* With *sed* the report returns from the irrealis to what in fact happened: the soldiers’ mental power proved to be the basis for their prevailing by physical strength. In 22.12.1 *animi robore* is used about Julian; in 31.13.6 the Roman soldiers resist against the Goths *magno animorum robore*. These examples show that in this phrase *animus* is used in the singular about one person and in the plural about a group. It is true, *miles* is sing., but, as so often, in the present text as well “die Individualbezeichnung wird...kollektivisch” (Szantyr 13), and *animorum* is a case of ‘ad sensum’. There seem to be no other instances of *acer* qualifying *robur*. Possibly Amm. looked for an adj. which contrasts sharply with Balchobaudes’ sluggishness, criticized in § 6. The physical strength is visualised by *lacertis*: the soldiers’ arms made them ‘eclipse’ (*eminuit*) their opponents. TLL VII 2.830.30–41 lists a number of (mainly poetical) instances of *lacertus*, in which physical strength in general is denoted, e.g. Ov. *Ep.* 1.47–48 *vestris disiecta lacertis/Ilios*, Claud. 15.460 *stabit Roma lacertis*.

ut hostium quattuor milibus sauciis sex alia interficeret milia The losses of the Alamans were considerable. The fact that Amm. provides numbers may go back to his source, possibly a military report; Sabbah 205. The number of casualties among the enemy indicates that this was an important Roman victory and a severe blow to the Alamanni. Iovinus’ victory has been compared to that of Julian at Strasbourg in 357; Rosen, 1970, 128; Lorenz, 1997, 82; cf. Drinkwater, 1997, 277–278. Unfortunately, Amm. does not reveal how large the Alamannic force was, but a comparison with numbers of Alamannic troops presented by Amm. in the case of two other military Roman-Alamannic encounters may provide some insight. At the battle of Strasbourg in 357 Amm. reports that the Alamannic army consisted of 35,000 men apart from the various *reges* and their followers (*hos sequebantur potestate proximi reges numero quinque regalesque decem et optimatum series magna armatorumque milia triginta et quinque*; 16.12.26); cf. Austin, 1973, 333–335 who thinks that

Amm. is not quite correct and that the number of Alamannic troops was somewhere around 20.000–25.000. After the battle 6000 Alamannic corpses were lying scattered on the battlefield and an unknown number was carried off by the Rhine (*ex Alamannis vero sex milia corporum numerata sunt in campo constrata et alii inaestimabiles mortuorum acervi per undas fluminis ferebantur*; 16.12.63). At the battle of Argentaria in 378 the Lentienses, an Alamannic people, are said to have had a force of 40.000 men (*maioraque conceptantes pagorum omnium incolis in unum collectis cum quadraginta armorum milibus... sublatis in superbiam nostra confidentius irruerunt*; 31.10.5); no more than 5000 survived the battle (*ut ex praedicto numero non plus quam quinque milia, ut aestimabatur, evaderent*; 31.10.10). Given the numbers of casualties among the Alamanni compared to the number of troops at these two battles, an educated guess would be that the Alamannic army defeated by Iovinus would have consisted of around 20.000 men.

noctisque itaque adventu proelio iam dirempto Cf. 19.1.9 *et post interneciva certamina ad usque finem diei protenta*, 19.8.1 *nocte proelia dirimente*, 20.11.20 *At ubi nocturnae tenebrae finem proeliis attulerunt*, 24.2.9 *ad usque noctis initium missilibus certabatur*. 2.8

prope confinia lucis ductor egregius in agminis quadrati figuram producto exercitu See the notes ad 25.1.11 *prope lucis* and 25.6.4 *prope confinia*, and 27.2.2 *rector eximius*. The purpose of the *agmen quadratum* is explained in the notes ad 24.1.2 *agminibus* and 27.2.1 *Iovinus*.

securus insidiarum per aperta camporum sequebatur et mollia Iovinus was in the comfortable position that the open terrain exempted him from all worry about any ambushes. Cf. 24.1.2 *per plana camporum et mollia* (q.v.): open plains and gently sloping hills.

calcando semineces et constratos, quos vulneribus frigorum asperitate contractis dolorum absumpserat magnitudo Trampling the bodies of men fallen on the battlefield is mentioned more often in ancient descriptions: e.g. *calcatosque...reges* (Luc. 7.293), *calcata regum capita supervolans* (Pan. 3.6.2); Amm.'s instances are *superscandentes corpora mortuorum* (14.7.16), *calcantes cadaverum strues* (15.4.12), (post) *calcatasque ruinas hostilium corporum* (24.6.15, q.v.), *exanimata cadavera sine parsimonia calcabantur* (31.13.6). In contrast to *semianimis*, which does not occur in the *Res Gestae*, the adj. *seminex*, which also occurs in 14.7.6, 16.12.53, 19.11.14, 31.13.11, 31.15.13,

is mainly a poetical word. Both Clark and Marié print *constrictos* the original version of V, but Seyfarth agrees with Blomgren 155–156, who in view of 16.12.63 *constrata* and 31.13.11 *constrati*, both in comparable contexts, rightly prefers the correction of *ic* to *a*. The alternative *constrictos* would mean ‘frozen’ (cf. Marié: “les corps raidis”); cf. *hiemes frigidae cuncta constringunt* (22.15.5). Cf. for the gen. inversus in *frigorum asperitate* Ov. *Fast.* 4.88 *frigoris asperitas* and Tac. *Ag.* 12.3 *asperitas frigorum* (see Heubner ad loc.). Pliny the Elder uses the verb *contrahere* a few times for the closing of wounds and scars: *Nat.* 12.77 *contrahendis vulnere cicatricibus*, 24.35 *in medendo contrahere vulnera*, 24.48 *vim... vulnera contrahendi*, 34.169 *contrahere cicatrices*; however, these instances all occur in a medical context, whereas Amm. describes the pain caused by freezing cold. Possibly, Amm. borrowed the phrase *dolorum magnitudo* from Cic. *Tusc.* 2.19 *Herculem viderat in Oeta magnitudine dolorum eiulantem*. The battle must have taken place either in April or in early May when the nights in this region of Gaul could still be extremely cold.

- 2.9 *exin progressus ulterius revertens, ubi nullum reppererat* In this remarkably succinct phrase Amm. reports that Iovinus at first advanced ‘farther away’ (from his base) and then, failing to find any fleeing Alamans, returned.

didicit regem hostilium agminum cum paucis captum ab Ascariis, quos ipse per iter aliud ad diripienda tentoria miserat Alamannica, suffixum patibulo For the Ascarii, a unit of the *auxilia palatina*, see *Not. Dign. Occ.* 5.166 and Hoffmann, 1969–1970, 50, 157–158, 371. The Ascarii often operated together with the Mattiaci; both units have their origin in the reign of the tetrarchs. According to Mommsen, 1889, 216 the name Ascarii is derived from ἄσκαός and the Latin suffix -arius; they seem to have been experienced in crossing rivers on ἄσκολί. The name of the Alamannic king who was crucified is not known. Lorenz, 1997, 82 n. 64 thinks that Ammianus, by explicitly mentioning the way in which the Alamannic nobleman was killed, criticized execution by crucifixion: “Dass Ammian 27,2,9 die Kreuzigung kritisiert, ist ein Zeugnis seiner Humanität und seiner Fairness auch vor dem Gegner.” Lorenz is reading too much into Amm.’s words. Gutmann’s view (1991, 19) that Iovinus was so annoyed by the killing of the unknown Alamannic king because the Romans could have used an “alamannischer ‘rex’ und dessen Gefolgschaft” politically, and in particular in the Roman army after the heavy losses of Julian’s Persian campaign, is more

likely. However, Iovinus' anger is best explained by assuming that the humiliating execution of the Alamannic leader would be seen by the Alamanni as a provocation. The two other instances of crucifixion in Amm. concern Persian executions of Romans; 19.9.2 and 24.5.3 with the note *corpora vidit*.

ideoque iratus in tribunum animadvertere statuit ausum hoc inconsulta potestate superiore fecisse Note that Amm. mentions the mere fact of the cruel liquidation as a reason (*ideo*) for Iovinus' anger. He obviously assumes that the readers will immediately understand that such an atrocity will hamper the pacification of the Alamanni. Amm.'s other instances of *ausus* with inf. perf. are 14.5.6 *ausos conspirasse Magnentio* and 28.1.14 *ausum Hispanillae... affectasse coniugium*; see for this use of the inf. perf. in general Kühner-Stegmann 1.133–134, Szantyr 351 and cf. Luc. 1.258 *non ausus timuisse palam* and Stat. *Theb.* 12.101 *ne quis ope et flammis ausit iuvasse Pelasgos*. See for *potestas* denoting a person holding some official function the note ad 23.6.35 *Persicae potestates*. TLL VII 1.1013.41–1014.43 lists a number of cases in which *inconsultus* occurs in an abl. abs., e.g. Liv. 36.36.2 *inconsulto senatu*, Suet. *Tib.* 52.2 *inconsulto se*, *Cod. Theod.* 15.15.1 *nobis insciis adque inconsultis*. Amm.'s only other example is 17.5.12 *me inconsulto*.

eumque damnasset, ni militari impetu commissum facinus atrox documentis evidentibus constitisset The condemnable act had sprung from an impulse of the soldiers; cf. for *militaris* as the equivalent of *militum* 17.13.9 *simplicitas militaris*, 17.13.25 *militarique consensu secundo*, 20.11.5 *militaris multitudo* (q.v.), 22.3.8 *militaris ira*. According to Sabbah 382–383 *documentis evidentibus* is an instance of *documentum* in the juridical sense; see especially note 40: “La conduite du tribun en cause a dû faire l’objet d’une enquête, menée par le *magister equitum*”. See also Sabbah 398–399 on *evidens* and *constat* as belonging to the “vocabulaire de l’évidence”. The phrase *documentis evidentibus* also occurs in 16.1.3.

Ei post haec redeunti Parisios post claritudinem recte gestorum imperator laetus occurrit Iovinus returned to the city where he had started his Alamannic campaign. Possibly Symm. *Or.* 1.18, the first of his two orations in honour of Valentinian, refers to Iovinus' victories at Scarponna and *prope Catelaunos*: *frustra tunc tibi perduelles motus optavit Alamannia, cui tantum miseriae invexit conflictus tuus, quantum proeliis debebatur ambobus*; cf. Pabst, 1989, n. 100; Lorenz, 1997, 81–82. *Consul. Constant. a.* 366: *Ipso anno*

Augustus Valentinianus gentem Alamannicam pervicit. Although Amm. states that Iovinus returned to Paris, this is not where Valentinian greeted his successful general. The emperor is attested to be in Rheims on 7 April (*Cod. Theod.* 8.7.9) and 15 June 366 (*Cod. Theod.* 5.7.1; cf. Pergami, 1993, 332); see Raimondi, 2001, 123. It is possible, although unlikely because it is not sustained by the sources, that the emperor went to Paris between these two dates or after 15 June to receive Iovinus. There is, however, no reason to suppose, as some scholars do – Tomlin, 1973, 150; Tomlin, 1974, 304 n. 10; Lorenz, 1997, 83; Drinkwater, 2007, 269 – that Amm. is mistaken in reporting that Iovinus returned in triumph to Paris instead of to Rheims. Nor should *Parisios* be considered an intrusive gloss on *redeunti* as Tomlin, 1973, 180 n. 16 suggests. It is more likely that after his victory *prope Catelaunos* and the subsequent ‘mopping-up’ operations – see *per aperta camporum sequebatur et mollia* (§ 8) and *exin progressus ulterius revertens, ubi nullum reppererat* (§ 9) –, which probably took place in the border region along the Rhine, Iovinus returned by way of Rheims to Paris. When Iovinus and his army passed the city where Valentinian resided at the time, the emperor went out to meet his victorious general. At about the same time Valentinian received the head of the usurper Procopius. Since the last event probably took place at the end of June or the beginning of July – see the next note – the meeting between Iovinus and Valentinian occurred around that time of year.

Cf. 31.4.9 *claritudine gestarum rerum*, like the present text a case of the gen. inversus. Comparable phrases are 14.11.32 *ex rerum gestarum amplitudine*, 21.5.2 *gestorum... amplitudine* (see, however, the note ad loc.). Valentinian’s reaction is reminiscent of another scene, in Paris, more than six years before: Julian’s going out to meet the auxiliary contingents called up to serve on the eastern front: *isdemque adventantibus in suburbanis princeps occurrit ex more laudans, quos agnoscebat* (20.4.12); see the notes ad loc., in which it is argued that *ex more* should be taken with *occurrit*; the present text could serve as a further argument: here too the emperor meets a soldier who has served Roman interests well.

brevique postea consulem designavit illo videlicet ad gaudii cumulum accedente, quod isdem diebus Procopii susceperat caput a Valente transmissum In 367 Iovinus was *consul posterior* to Lupicinus; see Bagnall et al., 1987, 268–269. The adverb *videlicet* usually expresses that something is obvious or self-evident. An ironic connotation is present in certain contexts, as in 30.5.3 *eo videlicet more, quo erat severus in gregariis corrigendis, remissior erga maiores*

fortunas, but in none of Amm.'s other six instances does this seem to be the case. Here one should remember that Amm. firmly disapproved of Procopius' usurpation and welcomed his demise. TLL IV 1388.8–10 mentions the present text, 17.13.24 *ad gratiae cumulum* and 22.8.49 *Accesserat aliud ad gaudiorum praesentium cumulum* as cases in which *cumulus* is a synonym of *augmentum*; cf. also OLD s.v. *cumulus* 3 ("An additional amount, increase").

With the rather vague *isdem diebus*, which denotes a moment in the first half of June 366, Amm. very briefly reminds his readers that he is reporting events which were chronologically parallel to the fall of Procopius. Procopius was decapitated on 27 May 366; see the note ad 26.9.9 *subito*. Shortly afterwards his head was sent to Valentinian in Gaul. It would have taken some four to six weeks for the head to be brought to Paris where it probably arrived at the end of June/beginning of July; see the note ad 26.10.6 *maximeque*. This is one of Amm.'s many instances of *suscipere* in which this verb is the synonym of *accipere*.

Drinkwater, 2007, 269 favours another chronological reconstruction. According to him it took at least six weeks and possibly more for Procopius' head to arrive in Gaul because its transport was interrupted by public displays such as at Philippopolis (26.10.6) and it would therefore have arrived at Valentinian's court in early/mid-July; starting from this date he puts Iovinus' victories over the Alamanni in mid/late June. However, it is not at all certain that Procopius' head was put on display in other places apart from Philippopolis; the latter was special because it was the last Procopian stronghold and the display of the head was needed for the surrender of the city, as Amm. explains: *maximeque in Philippopoleos defensores, qui urbem seque ipsos non nisi capite viso Procopii, quod ad Gallias portabatur, aegerrime dediderunt* (26.10.6). Moreover, by dating Iovinus' triumphs in mid/late June Drinkwater does not take into account the weather conditions Amm. describes in § 8 nor the mopping-up operations afterwards. It is more likely that the victory *prope Catelaunos* took place sometime in May, that the following mopping-up operations took the rest of May and most of June, and that after that Iovinus returned to Paris, via Rheims at the end of June or the beginning of July.

praeter haec alia multa narratu minus digna conserta sunt proelia per tractus varios Galliarum, quae superfluum est explicare At the end of his report on Iovinus' successful campaign the author lectures his readers once more on

what historiography is about. Cf. *nec memorabile quidquam... quod narrari sit dignum* (17.11.5), *nihil memoratu traditur dignum* (22.8.25), *non omnia narratu sunt digna* (28.1.15). Amm. has a great predilection for *tractus* with the meaning ‘region’. The superfluity of specific facts is also mentioned in 23.6.62 and 27.8.4.

In the chapters 1 and 2 Amm. only describes the major military confrontations between the Alamanni and the Romans that took place in 365–366. We should probably imagine that there were constant crossings of the Rhine and raids on Roman territory by small Alamannic bands which the Romans had to deal with. Probably also Iovinus’ mopping-up operations involved minor military encounters between Roman and Alamannic forces. It is possible that Amm. here not only was thinking of war with the Alamans, but of struggles with the Franks as well. This is argued by Demandt, 1972, 82–84, who inter alia refers to *ILS* 771. On this inscription Valentinian is called *Francicus maximus*. See also Lorenz, 1997, 91.

cum neque operae pretium aliquid eorum habuere proventus nec historiam producere per minutias ignobiles decet Clark and Marié print Gelenius’ *aliquod*, but Seyfarth rightly follows Petschenig, 1892, 682, whose remark deserves to be quoted in full: “Das überlieferte *aliquid* dürfte nicht geändert werden, da Ammian auch an zwei anderen Stellen *operae pretium* wie ein adjektiv behandelt: XVIII 6, 4 nihil egisse operae pretium, XXI 16, 4 nihil operae pretium fecit.” See note b ad 19.6.4 *nihil egisse*, and the note ad 21.16.4 *nihil operae*, where it is explained that *operae pretium* is treated “as an indeclinable adi.” Amm.’s only other instance of *proventus* is 22.8.32 *proventibus fructuariis victitantes*, where *proventus* denotes ‘yield’, which is a positive result. A comparable meaning seems feasible in the present text too: ‘successes’ rather than the neutral “results” (Rolfe), “Ausgang” (Seyfarth), “issue” (Marié), “esito” (Caltabiano); see also OLD s.v. 3 and cf. Plin. *Nat.* 2.117 *tam gaudente proventu rerum artiumque principe*, Apul. *Apol.* 98 *proventum cupit*, *Met.* 4.16 *novo proventu* (see the note ad loc. in *GCA* 1977, 128–129). But even if *proventus* indeed denotes successful operations, Amm.’s words still suggest that the Romans were not able to put a definitive stop to the raids of the Alamanni. See for Amm.’s aversion to *minutiae*, ‘petty details’, the note ad 23.1.1 *ut praetereamus* and the various notes ad 26.1.1 and 26.1.2.

CHAPTER 3

Introduction

In Chapter 3 Ammianus turns to the events in Rome which took place under three urban prefects, Symmachus, the father of the famous orator of that name, Lampadius and Viventius, who held the prefecture successively in the years 364–366. Before he discusses the characters and achievements of these men, Ammianus surprises his readers in the first two sections with a burlesque story about a donkey which climbed the tribunal in Pistoria and stood there braying stubbornly. It took several years before it became clear that this omen predicted the rise of the low-born *pistor* (baker) Terentius to the high post of *corrector* of Tuscia annonaria, (the grain province), which he had obtained by charging the aristocrat Orfitus with embezzlement. Later Terentius himself was found guilty of fraud and executed during the prefecture of Claudius Hermogenianus Caesarius. One wonders why the historian deemed this somewhat trivial story important enough to make room for it in a chapter about three distinguished urban prefects. His well known aversion to parvenus may have played a part, but why did he insert the story here? A definite answer cannot be given, but it may be relevant that there are two clear allusions in these sections to the treachery of Dynamius, described in 15.5, which had led to the downfall of Silvanus. Lampadius, one of the three prefects in this chapter had as PPO of Gaul incited Dynamius to his perfidious act, which according to Barnes 116–117 was one of the reasons why Ammianus drew such a hostile picture of him. Does Ammianus suggest a parallel between Terentius, who brought down Orfitus, and Dynamius, Lampadius' straw man, who caused the fall of Silvanus?

In sections 3 and 4 Ammianus gives an entirely favourable account of the prefecture of Symmachus. He was a scholarly man, prosperity reigned during his term in office, and he made himself popular by building a new bridge across the Tiber. The populace however, provoked by anonymous and unwarranted slander of Symmachus, showed their habitual fickleness by burning down his house in Trastevere.

Sections 5–10 are devoted to Lampadius. Ammianus admits that he acted occasionally with austerity and frugality, but his main characteristics

were arrogance and vanity. In order to demonstrate his disdain for the populace he refused to spend large sums on games and races, and showered nameless paupers from the Vatican with riches. His vanity is illustrated by his habit to have his own name inscribed on monuments built by earlier emperors, restored by him. Like his predecessor Symmachus, Lampadius became the victim of the violence of the Roman mob, who tried to destroy his house. Unlike Symmachus he had himself to blame for this, because he had expropriated building materials for his own projects by force. The next prefect, Viventius, is depicted in sections 11–13 as a respectable and able administrator, who nevertheless had to face grave disturbances, caused by internal strife between the followers of two pretenders to the See of Rome, Damasus and Ursinus. Ammianus completely ignores the denominational background to this dispute and instead focuses on the fanaticism of the contending parties. There are other versions of this conflict by Christian authors like Jerome, Rufinus and Socrates as well as in the so-called *Collectio Avellana*. It is impossible to harmonize these accounts completely, but they agree on the main points, viz. the names of the contenders, the final outcome of the conflict and the high number of casualties. The chapter ends with a coda (§§ 14–15) of a personal nature, in which Ammianus sarcastically criticizes the ostentatious wealth of the Roman clergy in terms that are on the one hand strongly reminiscent of the satirical gibes in Jerome's letters and on the other of Amm.'s own digressions on the conduct of the Roman aristocrats in 14.6 and 28.4. He contrasts the luxury in which the Roman clergy lives with the austere life style of provincial bishops, whose simplicity and humility commend them to the eternal God. The contrast in these final sections is not so much between pagans and Christians as between the luxury of present day Rome, shared by pagans and Christians alike, and the simplicity of earlier times and other regions.

- 3.1** *Hoc tempore vel paulo ante nova portenti species per Annonariam apparuit Tusciam* When Amm. switches from one theatre to the next he normally uses *dum*-clauses of the type *Dum per eoum orbem* e.q.s. (27.1.1) or *Dum aguntur ante dicta per Gallias* (27.4.1) or prepositional phrases like *Haec inter* (27.9.8) or *Sub idem fere tempus* (27.10.1). In the present case he also indicates that he is going back in time, whereas in 26.5.8 *Et circa id tempus aut non multo posterius in oriente Procopius in res surrexerat novas* he had to move forward. Most of the events narrated in the previous chapter took place in 366, while the portent in Tuscia must be placed

in the first part of 364 or even earlier. This can be deduced from the fact that the governorship of Terentius (*PLRE* I, Terentius 1), which is mentioned in section 2 as the event to which the portent relates, dates back to 364–365 (the first securely attested date of Terentius' governorship is 28 October 364, cf. *Cod. Theod.* 12.1.61).

The miracle Amm. is about to relate is aptly called *nova portenti species*, because according to Varro a *portentum* is an omen, *quod aliquid futurum portendit* (Serv. *A.* 3.366). The addition of *nova* means that the omen is highly unusual, not that it is without precedent, cf. 14.1.9 *Novo denique perniciosoque exemplo idem Gallus ausus est inire flagitium grave, quod Romae cum ultimo dedecore temptasse aliquando dicitur Gallienus* and the phrase *astri species...nova* for a comet in 25.2.7. Similar omens from Livy are quoted below *ad asinus tribunali*. In the introductory note to the digression on divination (21.1.9) the distinction was mentioned between *divinatio artificiosa*, based on signs asked for by a priest, and *divinatio naturalis*, based on signs that present themselves spontaneously. The miracle in the present section clearly belongs to the second category. As has been explained *ad* 21.1.11, for such *signa oblativa* the usual verbs are *occurrere*, *se offerre* and *apparere*, which we find here and in 25.2.4 *horroreque perfusus est, ne ita aperte minax Martis apparuerit sidus*; TLL II 262.18–38.

There is a note on Tuscia *ad* 21.5.12 *ille innoxius*, where it is inter alia stated that, when the Diocletianic province of Tuscia (et) Umbria was divided, the northern part became known as Tuscia Annonaria (the adj. refers to the fiscal obligations the province had, cf. Ausbüttel, 1988, 135 ff., esp. 138–139). When precisely this took place is disputed. If Amm.'s words here are taken at face value, the province of Tuscia Annonaria already existed in 364–365, when Terentius was governor. However, in epigraphical evidence about governors of a later period the name of the province is still Tuscia et Umbria (*ILS* 1251 and 1252), which seems to indicate that Amm.'s wording here is anachronistic. To quote Thomsen, 1947, 234: "At the time when Ammianus wrote his record – which was probably in the 390ies – Tuscia et Umbria had been divided into an annonarian and a suburbicarian part. But this need not necessarily have been the case at the time which he describes, i.e. the years 364–5." Thomsen thinks that the division took place in 385–392, at the time when the province of Aemilia et Liguria was split into two parts (p. 235 with n. 1).

Thomsen's argument was accepted by e.g. Chastagnol, 1963, 353, 358–359 and Van de Wiel, 1989, 69. There is, however, a complicating factor. Neither in the *Notitia Dignitatum* nor in the *laterculus* of Polemius

Silvius – both were written after Amm. finished his *Res Gestae* – is there any trace of Tuscia Annonaria or Tuscia Suburbicaria. In these documents there is only one, undivided province, which bears the old name Tuscia et Umbria (cf. *Not. Dign. Occ.* 1.57; 2.15; 19.4 and *Pol. Silv. chron.* I p. 535, 2). Therefore its division into an annonarian and a suburbicarian part must have occurred later than the time when the *Not. Dign.* and the *laterculus* of Polemius Silvius, and a fortiori later than the time when the *Res Gestae* was written, as Ausbüttel, 1988, 101 with n. 110 on p. 274, thinks, who deems the text of Amm. corrupt rather than anachronistic: “Bei dem Adjektiv *annonaria* dürfte es sich...um einen Zusatz aus späterer Zeit handeln”.

Ausbüttel is certainly right in directing attention to the discrepancy in the sources and the weakness of Thomsen’s attempt to explain the problem away. Thomsen p. 234 ff. had contended that between Amm.’s time and that of the *Notitia Dignitatum* and the *laterculus* of Polemius Silvius “the northern annonarian part had not been allowed to remain independent, but had been transferred to another province”, and that it was only later in the fifth century that Tuscia Annonaria reappeared as an independent province. However, Ausbüttel’s own attempt to solve the problem is even less convincing. Amm.’s text as it stands is unanimously transmitted by the manuscripts and makes excellent sense (to read *per apparuit Tusciam* would be nonsensical): the adjective *annonaria* apparently alludes to the fact that governor Terentius was a former baker (*humili genere in urbe natus et pistor*, 27.3.2), *annona* meaning i.a. “ipsum frumentum, frumenti copia”, TLL II 112.25 (see for similar allusions below, the note ad *in oppido*). Therefore we must reject the theory of a later interpolation and accept that Amm. did write the transmitted text. Should we then subscribe to Thomsen’s reasoning? Perhaps. However, in that case the chronological problem remains. This would be solved if one reads *annonariam* (and not *Annonariam* with capital A): the portent occurred ‘in Tuscany, the granary’.

idque quorsum evaderet prodigialium rerum periti penitus ignorarunt For *evadere* ‘to result in’ see the notes ad 20.8.2 *summa coeptorum* and 21.12.10 *verum summa*. Specialists are needed to interpret *signa oblativa*. Amm. mentions such experts in 23.5.10 (*gnaros prodigialium rerum*), where they are distinguished from the *Etrusci haruspices*, who also belonged to Julian’s staff. See further the note on 25.10.1 *quorum eventus*. As has been noted ad 20.3.9 *penitus hebetato*, Amm. uses *penitus* regularly with negative verbs like *ignorare* (eight times), *vastare* and *abolere*. Still, the juxtaposi-

tion of *periti* and *penitus ignorarunt* may give the sentence a slightly ironical twist: these experts had not the faintest idea what the omen predicted. According to TLL X 1.1082.75 the expression is found for the first time in Cic. *Brut.* 68 *cur igitur Lysias et Hyperides amatur, cum penitus ignoretur Cato?* and becomes frequent only in fourth-century writers. For the forms of the third person plural perfect see the note ad 26.10.19 *ingentes aliae*.

in oppido enim Pistoriensi prope horam diei tertiam This is a good example of *enim* in vivid eyewitness accounts, for which see the note ad 24.4.12 *hinc enim*. The adj. *Pistoriensis* occurs for the first time in Sal. *Cat.* 57.1 (*reliquos Catilina...in agrum Pistoriensem abducit*). The first reference to the Etruscan city Pistorium (Plin. *Nat.* 3.52), also known as Pistoria (Πιστωρία, Ptol. 3.1.43) and Pistoriae (*ILS* 2265), modern Pistoia, is found in Plautus' *Captivi* 160 in a pun on the meaning of *pistor*: *primumdum opus est Pistorensibus*. Amm. no doubt had this passage in mind when he told the story of the donkey in Pistoria which predicted the rise of the *pistor* Terentius to the governorship of 'Tuscia Annonaria' (cf. the note above for the name of this province). In this respect it is also significant that it was an ass that triggered the amazement of the spectators and of those who heard what had happened: asses were used in treadmills to grind corn for bakeries, cf. e.g. Lucius' complaint in Apul. *Met.* 9.10–11 *quidam pistor de proximo castello praestinauit* (sc. me) *protinusque frumento...onustum...ad pistrinum, quod exercebat, perducit. Ibi complurium iumentorum multivii circuitus intorquebant molas ambage varia*, and see Tengström, 1974, 73–81. Apart from that, the picture of an ass ascending a tribunal as if to make a speech is rather funny, asses being proverbially stupid. Cf. e.g. Cic. *Pis.* 73 *Quid nunc te, asine, litteras doceam?* and see for further examples Otto, 1890, 40–43. See in general for asses Olck, 1909; Opelt, 1966 and Raepsaet, 1998.

Prope horam diei tertiam is translated by Hamilton with "about nine in the morning". Cf. Wagner's "nonam nostram matutinam". This would be correct if we knew that the incident occurred around the vernal or autumnal equinox, but since this is not stated, and the length of the hour of the ancients varied according to latitude and season (Bickerman, 1968, 15), it is safer to render the expression simply with "about the third hour of the day", as e.g. Rolfe does. For overviews of the hours of the day in Rome expressed in modern terms see e.g. Marquardt, 1886², I, 257–258 and Balsdon, 1969, 16. In midsummer *hora tertia* began there at 6.58 and ended at 8.13, in midwinter it ran

from 9.2 to 9.46. The third hour is the time when daily business began: Mart. 4.8.1–2 *Prima salutantes atque altera conterit hora, / exercet raucos tertia caudidicos*; Tert. *ieiun.* 10.3 speaks about the third, sixth and ninth hour of the day *quae negotia distinguunt*.

asinus tribunali escenso audiebatur destinatus rugiens In her commentary ad loc. Van de Wiel mentions two similar *prodigia* in Livy: 21.62.3 *in foro boario bovem in tertiam contignationem sua sponte ascendisse atque inde tumultu habitatorum territum se deiecisse* and 36.37.2 *boves duos domitos* ('domesticated') in *Carinis per scalas pervenisse in tegulas aedificii proditum memoriae est*. In Petr. 63.2 Trimalchio begins a story with the words *nam et ipse vobis rem horribilem narrabo. asinus in tegulis*. The meaning of these words is still in dispute, but it has been plausibly explained as a sign of *mundus inversus*, the world turned upside down: 'le boeuf sur le toit.' A similar upheaval is predicted by another omen in 28.1.42 *in id tempus aut non multo prius scopae* ('brooms') *florere sunt visae, quibus nobilitatis curia mundabatur, idque portendebat extollendos quosdam despiciatissimae sortis ad gradus potestatum excelsos*, on which see Davis, 1957. For *destinatus*, which is found only in Amm., see the note ad 20.4.14. The detail is at the same time ridiculous and sinister. The animal goes on and on, as if it is giving a speech. Strictly speaking the word for the braying of donkeys is *rudere*, whereas *rugire* is used of lions: Isid. *diff.* 607.70.4 *Infans vagit, bos mugit, equus hinnit, asinus ragit vel rudit, leo rugit, elephas barrit, sus grunnit, ovis balat, serpens sibilat, rana coaxat, corvus crocitat, grus arsat, milvus jugit, canis baubat vel latrat, vulpes gannit*. Amm. is not the only author who uses *rugire* for another animal than the lion: in *moriend.* 13 Lucifer of Cagliari calls the emperor Constantius *rugiens in nostram insontium necem serpens*.

stupefactis omnibus, qui aderant quique didicerant referentibus aliis The phrase is typical for a historian who distinguishes eyewitnesses from people who had only heard about the event from others, and is reminiscent of the distinction in 15.1.1 *ea, quae videre licuit per aetatem vel perplexe interrogando versatos in medio scire*.

- 3.2** *Terentius enim, humili genere in urbe natus et pistor* Terentius hailed from Rome, *pace* Meslin, 1974, 356 ("natif de Pistoia") and others (e.g. Rolfe and Marié). Here, as in e.g. 14.8.15 (*in urbem advectae*), 16.10.20 (*ab urbe profectus*), 27.7.1 and 27.11.1, *urbs* without the addition of any specification denotes the eternal city of Rome. Cf. for this use Quint. *Inst.* 6.3.103 (*postquam urbis appellatione, etiam si nomen proprium non adice-*

retur, Romam tamen accipi sit receptum, “after the word *Urbs* had come to be accepted as indicating Rome without the addition of any proper noun”, tr. Butler) and 8.2.8 (*urbem* *Romam accipimus*, “we use *urbs* in the special sense of Rome”, tr. Butler). The expression *humili genere natus* is less common than one would expect. In fact, it is found only in *Rhet. Her.* 3.7.13 *si humili genere, ipsum in suis, non in maiorum virtutibus habuisse praesidium* and HA *Gd* 29.1 *Philippus Arabs, humili genere natus, sed superbus*. Amm. despises plebeians. In his Roman digressions he depicts them collectively as idle and lazy: 28.4.28 *Nunc ad otiosam plebem veniamus et desidem*, interested only in eating and drinking, gambling and horse racing. He has no faith in upward social mobility either. No good is to be expected from people of humble birth. In two short digressions 14.11.30–34 (q.v.) and 26.6.20 (q.v.) he lists a number of people of lowly origin who rose to great power, such as the potter Agathocles, the convict Eunus and the fuller Andrius. The results were disastrous. There can be little doubt that Amm. had met people in the army who had risen from the ranks to positions of command, but he never signals such an achievement, with one exception: Valentinian’s father Gratianus, *ignobili stirpe* (30.7.2), who became *protector*, *tribunus* and *comes*, and whose merits were an asset to the career of his son. On the other hand, he is quick to point to the low birth of characters he loathes, such as bishop Georgius *in fullonio natus* (22.11.4), Maximinus *obscurissime natus* (28.1.5) and Terentius in the present passage.

As a rule, their business did not earn bakers a great deal of respect. In Cic. *S. Rosc.* 134 for instance *pistores* are mentioned in one breath with cooks and litter bearers as representatives of the *artes vulgares*. It is this notion which Amm. here undoubtedly wants to convey to his readers: unlike the man whose downfall he brought about, Terentius was of low origin and only a baker. However, the fact that Terentius became governor of Tuscia and *eo ipso* a senator (“les correcteurs de Tuscie-Ombrie ont été des clarissimes dès l’origine”, Chastagnol, 1963, 358) means that he must have been a rich man. This makes it by no means certain that he personally carried out the job of a baker (compare the case of the Athenian statesman Cleon, who, despite Aristophanes in *Eq.* 44 calling him *βυρσοδέην*, never worked as a tanner). It is more likely that Terentius belonged to the guild of bakers (*corpus pistorum*) in Rome, which operated for the state (cf. Jones 699–701) and “consisted of affluent people, who had to invest capital in the fulfillment of their obligations” (Sirks, 1991, 405). See in general for *pistores* Hug, 1950 and for the *corpus pistorum* in

Rome Tengström, 1974, 73–78; Graeber, 1983, 79–90; Herz, 1988, 268–277 and Sirks, 1991, 322–354. A well known monument in Rome to commemorate a rich baker of an earlier period is the tomb of M. Vergilius Eurysaces, which has the form of a baker’s oven (see e.g. Zadoks-Josephus Jitta/Boersma, 1972, 182 no. 1). Eurysaces, however, unlike Terentius, was not a senator.

ad vicem praemii, quia peculatus reum detulerat Orfitum ex praefecto For the prepositional phrase cf. 15.10.2 *ad vicem memorabilis muneris* ‘as a memorable gift’. *Orfitum* is Valesius’ brilliant emendation of V’s *officium*. The former *praefectus* (urbi) Memmius Vitrasius Orfitus *signo* Honorius (PLRE I, Orfitus 3 + A. Chastagnol in *REL* 50 [1972] 383) was, in contrast to his accuser Terentius, of noble stock, cf. e.g. *ILS* 1243 (*genere nobili*) and 14.6.1 *splendore liberalium doctrinarum minus quam nobilem decuerat institutus*. He was twice urban prefect, in 353–355 (or 353–356) and 357–359 (cf. 16.10.4 *secunda Orfiti praefectura* and 17.4.1 *administrante secundam adhuc Orfito praefecturam*). For his office see the note ad 21.10.6 *multo post* (add to the literature cited there Aja Sánchez, 1995–1996 and Chastagnol, 1997). For the disputed date of Orfitus’ first prefecture see Chastagnol, 1962, 142–143; Barnes, 1992, 257–259 and Cameron, 1996, 296 n. 7. It is likely that the Orfitus who, together with his wife Constantia, is pictured on a gold-glass bowl in the British Museum (cf. e.g. Buckton, 1994, 32), is the PVR of the present text. See on this Cameron, 1996.

Orfitus, after his second prefecture accused by Terentius of *peculatus*, i.e. “bonorum publicorum (maxime pecuniae publicae) furtum vel in usum privatum aversio” (TLL X.1 921.51 et seq.), was exiled but later recalled through the influence of Vulcacius Rufinus *qui nactus copiam principis Orfitum ex praefecto urbis solutum exsilio patrimonii re-integrata iactura remitti fecit in lares* (27.7.3). His recall did not mean the end of the peculation affair. Even after Orfitus’ death in c. 369 it continued to inflame passions. Details of it are known from letters of Symmachus, the famous *praefectus urbi* of 384/5 (*Rel.* 34.8 and *Ep.* 9.150, with Roda’s notes), who, as Orfitus’ son-in-law, was himself involved, for any claims against the late Orfitus would have affected the property of Symmachus’ wife Rusticiana. According to Symmachus, who, incidentally, does not mention the role of Terentius, Orfitus was wrongfully held responsible for deficiencies of the *arca vinaria*, the treasury of accounts due from the sale of wine. This chest had been under Orfitus’ supervision during his term as urban prefect. See for a

detailed discussion first of all Chastagnol, 1950. Cf. further Sinnigen, 1957, 49–51; Vera, 1981, 254–272 and Graeber, 1984. For the crime of *peculatus*, also mentioned in 27.7.1 and 31.14.2, see Brecht, 1940 and Gnoli, 1979. The fact that it was the *pistor* Terentius who accused Orfitus of *peculatus* is intriguing, for it was by the *corpus pistorum Maganariorum et castrensariorum* that the same Orfitus was honoured with a statue after his second prefecture (*CIL* 6.1739).

hanc eandem provinciam correctoris administraverat potestate History repeats itself. In 15.5.14 Amm. had reported with indignation how the villain Dynamius, whose perfidious tricks had brought about the downfall of Silvanus, was rewarded by Constantius with the governorship of *Tuscia*: *Dynamius vero ut praeclaris artibus illustratus cum correctoris dignitate regere iussus est Tuscos*. The pluperfect *administraverat* is chosen instead of the perfect *administravit* to obtain a *cursus velox*; see the note ad 27.1.1 *post aerumnosas*.

When the province of *Tuscia Umbria* was created in the time of Diocletian the title given to its governor was *corrector* (cf. *ILS* 1217 in honour of *PLRE* I, Rufinus 15). In the sense of ‘provincial governor’ *corrector* is also used by Amm. in 15.5.14 *Dynamius... cum correctoris dignitate regere iussus est Tuscos*, while in 31.4.9 and 31.14.2 it has a different meaning. In his capacity of *corrector Tusciae* Terentius received *Cod. Theod.* 2.1.4, 12.1.61 and 12.1.65. The last governor of Tuscany with this title was *PLRE* I, Maximinus 7 (*Cod. Theod.* 9.1.8, d.d. 17 November 366). His successors were called *consulares*. Cf. Chastagnol, 1963, 358–359; *PLRE* I, 1094; Cecconi, 1994, 213.

etque confidentia deinceps inquietius agitans multa in naviculariorum negotio falsum admisisse convictus For the negative connotations of *confidens* and its derivatives see the note ad 20.4.18 *capiti Iuliani*. The phrase *inquietius agitans* reminds us again of the restless schemer Dynamius, since the only other instance of *inquietius* in Latin literature is 15.5.4 *idem Dynamius inquietius agens ut versutus et in fallendo exercitatus*. As was the case with the *pistores* (see above), many of the Roman *navicularii* (shippers who exploited a ship commercially, whether they owned it or not; cf. Sirks, 1991, 26) were organised in a guild and as such involved in the corn-supply of the city of Rome. They rendered important services to the government and in return obtained privileges. In the Theodosian Code no less than 48 laws are directly concerned with them (*Cod. Theod.* 13.5.1–38, 13.6.1–10; cf. De Salvo, 1978 and 1995). See in

general for *navicularii* Tengström, 1974, 35–38; Graeber, 1983, 56–78; Herz, 1988, 234–262; Sirks, 1991; De Salvo, 1992 and Andreau, 2000. For the origin of their *corpora* see Broekaert, 2008.

In Rome *pistores* and *navicularii* had common interests. *Cod. Theod.* 13.5.2, for instance, mentions their *corpora* in one breath and Terentius' opponent Orfitus not only was honoured with a statue by the guild of *pistores*, *CIL* 6.1739, but by the *corpus naviculariorum* as well, *CIL* 6.1740. It is therefore not surprising to find Terentius, a *pistor* before he became *corrector* of Tuscany, guilty of fraud in a matter of business which had to do with *navicularii*. "The affair must have involved carriage of government cargoes, since he would not have been put to death for cheating in a private transaction", Sirks, 1991, 240–241 plausibly argues. His suggestion on p. 240 that Terentius "must have committed this fraud as governor" is less likely. Terentius was governor of Tuscia in 364–365 (see the note ad 27.3.1 *Hoc tempore*) and executed in 374 (see below), which means that, if Sirks were followed, ten years passed between crime and punishment. This strains the imagination. It seems more feasible to assume that Terentius after he had laid down his governorship in 365 resumed his former occupation and some time later (*deinceps*) as *pistor* was accused of fraud in dealings with *navicularii*.

ut ferebatur The addition, which is found also in 14.1.3, 20.4.2, 21.15.4 and 22.11.3 (q.v.), implies that Amm. has not been able to ascertain this detail. In 26.9.10 *rebellem et oppugnatorem internae quietis, ut ferebatur* it refers to the current opinion at the time about Procopius.

perit carnificis manu regente Claudio Romam Although "in general the death penalty was rarely inflicted on *honestiores*" (Jones 519) and Terentius as former *corrector* was a *vir clarissimus* (he is not known to have held other government posts), he nevertheless was executed (see for the death penalty in Amm. Arce, 1974; in general Latte, 1940 and Grodzynski, 1984). The magnitude of his crime apparently justified this form of punishment, in accordance with a law of Constantine, *Cod. Theod.* 9.19.2, which stipulated that "after proof of guilt, capital punishment, if the magnitude of the crime so demands, or deportation shall threaten the person who has committed forgery" (*capitali post probationem supplicio, si id exigat magnitudo commissi, vel deportatione ei qui falsum commiserit imminente*, tr. Pharr). Terentius' execution took place in 374, for Claudius Hermogenianus Caesarius (*PLRE* I,

Caesarius 7; cf. Chastagnol, 1962, 192–193) was *praefectus urbi* in that year. In 29.6.17–19 Amm. speaks about his prefecture.

Multo tamen antequam hoc contingeret, Symmachus Aproniano successit For *antequam* 3.3 with *coni.* see the note ad 20.4.22 *quam...fulgentem*. L. Aurelius Avianius Symmachus *signo* Phosphorius (PLRE I, Symmachus ‘Phosphorius’) we already met in 21.12.24 (q.v.) as an ambassador of the senate. As PVR he succeeded Apronianus (PLRE I, Apronianus 10; cf. for him the notes ad 23.1.4 *Apronianum* and 26.3) in 364, that is, ‘long before this (the execution of Terentius in 374 just mentioned) happened’. As far as we know, the first law addressed to Symmachus Phosphorius as *praefectus urbi* is *Cod. Theod.* 7.4.10 (22 April 364). Still in function on 9 (10) March 365 (*Cod. Theod.* 1.6.4 and 10.1.9), he was succeeded soon afterwards by Lampadius (cf. § 5 below). The most important steps of Phosphorius’ career are mentioned in *ILS* 1257, on which see Chastagnol, 1962, 159–163. Thompson 16 and 129 assumes, inter alia on account of this passage, that Amm. was a friend of Symmachus Phosphorius’ son, the famous orator Q. Aurelius Symmachus *signo* Eusebius (PLRE I, Symmachus 4), a hypothesis strongly criticized by Cameron, 1964, esp. 20–21. See now Colombo, 2008, 189–198, who argues that “l’analisi puntuale di 27, 3, 1–4 può fornire dati utili a corroborare la tesi generale di Thompson” (p. 191).

inter praecipua nominandus exempla doctrinarum atque modestiae Cic. *Fam.* 2.14 pays a similar compliment to Marcus Fabius: *eum diligo cum propter summum ingenium eius summamque doctrinam tum propter singularem modestiam*. Amm. is not the only one who acknowledges Symmachus Phosphorius’ cultural accomplishments. See for instance the inscription on the basis of the statue dedicated to him by emperors and senate on 29 April 377, shortly after he died, which inter alia sings the praises of his *eloquentia* (*ILS* 1257). Phosphorius’ son writes in a letter to Praetextatus: *egit pater senatui gratiam ea facundiae gravitate qua notus est* (Symm. *Ep.* 1.44.1). Cf. further Symm. *Ep.* 1.3, 1.4 and Lib. *Ep.* 1004.6–7. There are five short poems written by Phosphorius himself. He quotes them in a letter to his son (Symm. *Ep.* 1.2).

quo instante urbs sacratissima otio copiisque abundantius solito fruebatur The absolute use of *instare* “to apply oneself urgently” (OLD s.v. 8) is already found in Verg. *A.* 2.244 *instamus tamen immemores*. The same phrase is used by August. *adv. Don.* 32.55 *nisi imperatore consulto, quo instante illa omnia gerebantur*. Amm. is the only author who calls Rome *sacratissima*,

‘most sacred’. The adjective *sacrat* designates a certain class of laws, e.g. Cic. *Tul.* 52 *legem antiquam de legibus sacrat*, *quae iubeat inpune occidi eum, qui tribunum plebi pulsaverit*, of spaces, e.g. Liv. 45.5.7 *intra terminos sacrat* *templi* and of persons. The emperors are regularly given the epithet *sacratissimi*, e.g. Gaius *Inst.* 1.53 *ex constitutione sacratissimi imperatoris Antonini*. Although Amm. is the only author we know to call Rome *urbs sacratissima*, Ambrosiast. *quaest. test.* 115.16, dated in 370–375, proves that this qualification was not unique: *hic enim in urbe Roma et finibus eius, quae sacratissima appellatur*. The closest parallel in Amm.’s own work is 17.4.13 *in templo mundi totius*. Amm. expresses his high regard for Rome time and again, calling it *venerabilis* in 14.6.5 and 22.16.12 (q.v.), *aeterna* in 14.6.1, 15.7.1, 15.7.10, 16.10.14, 19.10.1, 21.12.24 (q.v.), 22.9.3, 23.1.4, 23.3.3, 25.10.5, 26.3.1, 28.1.1, 28.1.36, 28.1.56; 14.6.3 *victura, dum erunt homines*, 26.1.14 *victura cum saeculis* (q.v.), 16.10.13 *imperii virtutumque omnium larem*. Rufinus uses the phrase *urbs sacratissima* for Jerusalem *hist.* 2.26.1 *in ipsa urbe sacratissima Hierusalem*.

Every urban prefect is judged according to the orderly or disorderly behaviour of the Roman *plebs* during his term in office, which normally depends on the provision of food and wine. *Otium* means ‘absence of riots or hostilities’, as in 17.1.3 *at barbari perstricti negotii magnitudine, qui se in tranquillo positos otio tunc parum inquietari posse sperabant* and 22.12.2 (about Julian) *impatiens otii lituos somniabat et proelia*; TLL IX 2.1179.21–73. Indirect corroboration for Amm.’s statement, that during Symmachus’ term of office there was abundant food for the people of Rome, is furnished by *Cod. Theod.* 11.14.1, addressed to Phosphorius’ successor Volusianus Lampadius (see for him § 5). In this constitution it is stipulated that “no distribution of the grain brought to the storehouses of the City... shall be made until the old supplies (i.e. stored under former urban prefects) are exhausted” (*ut non prius ad frumentum tendatur expansio, quod... urbis horreis infertur, quam vetera condita fuerint erogata*, tr. Pharr). Cf. Kohns, 1961, 132, who argues that *Cod. Theod.* 14.15.1, addressed to Symmachus Phosphorius himself and concerned with the improvement of the quality of the bread (*ne pessimus panis populi Romani usibus ministretur*), can also be seen as confirmation of the fact that during Symmachus’ prefecture the corn supply caused no problems. A reason for the prosperity is not mentioned by Amm., but Kohns, 1961, 133, referring to *Cod. Theod.* 14.21.1, 14.22.1 and 15.1.12, argues not implausibly “daß einer der Gründe ein nicht unerheblicher privater Getreidehandel war”. Cf. also Graeber, 1984, 66–67.

et ambizioso ponte exsultat atque firmissimo, quem condidit ipse This sentence up to and including the prefix *con* – has been added by Gelenius. There can hardly be any doubt that he had found it in the Hersfeldensis, since he did not have a single clue for a conjecture like this. Moreover, the number of letters added by Gelenius is 45, which corresponds exactly to the average number of letters per line in M as established by Robinson, 1936, 136–139. The use of *exsultare* with non-human subject is also found in 14.8.3 *Ciliciam vero, quae Cydno amni exsultat, Tarsus nobilitat* and 15.11.14 *Viennensis civitatum exsultat decore multarum*; more examples in TLL V 2. 1951.15–26. The only problem is that there is no parallel for *condere pontem* in Latin. The usual expression is (*con*)*struere* – or simply *facere pontem*. Amm. speaks very often of building bridges, but these are invariably temporary constructions for use during a military campaign, for which he uses verbs like *compaginare* (21.12.9), *contabulare* (24.7.8.), or *contexere* (24.6.2). The one permanent bridge he mentions is the Mulvian bridge, in section 9 of this chapter: *Mulvium pontem, quem struxisse superior dicitur Scaurus*. On the basis of *ILS* 769, in which we read *instituti ex utilitate urbis aeternae Valentiniani pontis atq. perfecti*, we might consider *quem instituit ipse*, but it is possible that Amm. chose the unusual *condidit* to emphasize that Symmachus did not simply repair the existing bridge, but built a new one to replace it, thus anticipating the opposition *instaurator* – *conditor* in § 7.

The bridge referred to is the *pons Valentiniani*, mentioned in *ILS* 769. The inscription helps to specify Amm.’s wording here. The building or restoration of the bridge may have been started during Symmachus Phosphorius’ term as PVR in 364–365, but it was only finished and dedicated after his prefecture was over, for we read in *ILS* 769 that it was to the *ex praefectis urbi* Symmachus that the senate and people of Rome, following a decision of the emperors, allowed the dedication of the now finished *pons Valentiniani* (cf. for the expression *ex praefectis urbi* two of the other inscriptions relating to the dedication of the bridge, *CIL* 6.31403 and 31404). Since in these inscriptions only Valentinian and Valens are mentioned, the terminus ante quem for the dedication is 24 August 367, which was Gratian’s *dies imperii*. There can be no doubt that the *pons Valentiniani*, later replaced by the ponte Sisto, had taken the place of the *pons Antonini* or *pons Aurelius*, which in its turn had replaced the *pons Agrippae* (cf. the references in Le Gall, 1953, 210–211, 295–301; Galliazzo, 1995, I, 79 and 271; Coarelli, 1999).

3.4 *qui consumptis aliquot annis domum eius in Transtiberino tractu pulcherrimam incenderunt* The action of the Roman *cives* was not without parallel. In § 8 of this same chapter Amm. relates that a house of Lampadius, Symmachus Phosphorius' successor as *praefectus urbi*, was almost burned to the ground, and in *epist.* 74.13 Zelzer bishop Ambrose of Milan writes: *non recordaris, imperator, quantorum Romae domus praefectorum incensae sint et nemo vindicavit?* In the case of Symmachus Phosphorius, for that matter, it was not during, but some years after his prefecture of 364–365 that the house in the Transtiberine district was burned down. When precisely this occurred, is not known, but a date in 374 or 375 seems plausible, in view of the date of the letters of his son (PLRE I, Symmachus 4) in which references to the occurrence can be found (cf. Seeck, 1883, xlii–xliii; Rougé, 1961, 60; Matthews 416–417).

Symmachus' house is one of three *domus* in Rome whose owner Amm. mentions by name (the others belonged to Lampadius and Aginatius, see 27.3.8 and 28.1.50). According to *Curios. urb.* p. 97, 2 there were around this time 150 *domus* in the Transtiberine regio xiiii (the *Curiosum* dates from A.D. 357), out of 1782 in the whole city (Brödner, 1993², 182; cf. Guilhembet, 1996). Olympiodorus' fr. 41.1 Εἷς δόμος ἄστὺ πέλει· πόλις ἄστεα μυρία κεύθει ("One house is a town; the city hides ten thousand towns", tr. Blockley) is hyperbolic, as is his statement that "each of the great houses of Rome contained within itself everything which a medium-sized city could hold, a hippodrome, fora, temples, fountains and different kinds of baths" (ἕκαστος τῶν μεγάλων οἰκῶν τῆς Ῥώμης, ὡς φησιν, ἅπαντα εἶχεν ἐν ἑαυτῷ ὅποσα πόλις σύμμετρος ἡδύνατο ἔχειν, ἱππόδρομον καὶ φόρους καὶ ναοὺς καὶ πηγὰς καὶ λουτρὰ διάφορα., *ibid.*, tr. Blockley). See for the topography and social history of Trastevere Palmer, 1981, although he does not mention Symmachus' house, and for late antique *domus* in general Baldini Lippolis, 2001 and De Albentiis, 2003. Apart from the town house in Rome Symmachus Phosphorius owned property in Praeneste (Symm. *Ep.* 1.5.1) and Formiae (Symm. *Ep.* 1.11.2). It is possible that he fled to one of these locations to escape the Roman mob, and that from there he sent the letter to his son in which he refers to his misfortune: *si nil agam, subit me malorum meorum misera recordatio* (Symm. *Ep.* 1.2.2). However, he must have had many more estates, an inference which seems justified in view of the impressive number of properties owned by the most famous of his four sons, duly listed in PLRE I, Symmachus 4. Cf. Vera, 1986, 238.

Symmachus the son speaks of his father's fate in *Ep.* 1.44.1, where he states that the old man, retired in the country, could barely cope

with the loss of his house (*parentem meum ruri atque in secessu amissae domus iniuriam decoquentem*), but that recently there had been a turn for the better when a delegation from the Senate invited Phosphorius to return to Rome. Presumably, Symmachus in *Ep.* 2.38 (see Callu ad loc.) also hints at the incident which caused his father to leave the city. He writes in this letter that the Roman *plebs* had changed its mind and now wanted the agitators to be punished: *In bonam partem plebs nostra mutata est, adeo ut iugiter seditiosorum poena poscatur et iam terga dederint insolentes*. Back in Rome, both Phosphorius and his son held a speech to give thanks in the Senate (Symm. *Ep.* 1.44.1–2; see also *Or.* 5). Soon afterwards they had another reason to be grateful: Symmachus Phosphorius was nominated for the consulship (Symm. *Or.* 4). Although he is called *consul* in the honorary inscription *ILS* 1257, dated 29 April 377, his name is not in the *fasti consulares*, which must mean that he died when still *consul designatus*. See most recently on both Symmachi Salzman, 2007.

ea re perciti, quod vilis quidam plebeius finxerat illum dixisse sine indice ullo vel teste See for *percitus* the note ad 21.3.1 *nuntio percitus inopino*. There is a note on *vilis*, the opposite of *honestus*, ad 21.6.9 *aspectu*. Amm. apparently did not think much of the man who slandered Symmachus; indeed he tended to dislike plebeians. This comes to the fore most clearly in his digressions on Rome (on which see most recently Den Hengst, 2007). Cf. for instance 14.6.17 *cum otiosis plebeiis*; 14.6.25 *Ex turba... imae sortis et paupertinae in tabernis aliqui pernoctant vinariis*; 28.4.28 *Nunc ad otiosam plebem veniamus et desidem*; 28.4.29 *hi omne, quod vivunt, vino et tesseris impendunt et lustris*. See further § 8, where it is said that *collecta plebs infima* set fire to Lampadius' house (q.v.) and cf. Lizzi, 1995, 128–135, who argues that only some of the plebeians rose against Avianus Symmachus Phosphorius, viz. “le clientele di *clans* senatori avversi ad Aviano e alla sua famiglia” (p. 128).

As to the accusation brought forward against Symmachus, this was, according to Amm., completely unwarranted: no source was given, no witness presented (for the expression cf. Cic. *Clu.* 38 *nullo teste nullo indice*; [Quint.] *Decl.* 18.6 *rumor res sine teste, sine indice*). Amm. may be right in stating that Symmachus never uttered the words put into his mouth, but it can hardly be denied that the issue at stake was the price of Symmachus' wine.

libenter se vino proprio calcarias exstincturum, quam id venditurum pretiis, quibus sperabatur The use of *quam* = *potius* – or *magis quam* is found from

Ennius onwards; cf. Ann. 130 *ferro se caedi quam dictis his toleraret* with Skutsch's note ad loc. and Szantyr 593–594. An example from Amm. is 16.12.36 *properantes concito quam considerato cursu*. The best discussion of *quam*-clauses in AcI is Kühner-Stegmann II 301–302, according to whom a second AcI in the *quam*-clause, as preferred here by Amm., is the rule in classical Latin, e.g. Cic. Att. 2.20.2 *addit etiam se prius occisum iri ab eo quam me violatum iri*; Suet. Nero 35.5 *iurasset suspectum se frustra periturumque potius quam nociturum ei* (in direct speech *peribo potius quam nocebo tibi*). Instead of the second AcI we sometimes find the subjunctive, as in Nep. Ham. 1.5 *periturum se potius dixerit, quam cum tanto flagitio domum rediret* (based on *peribo potius quam redeam*). *Sperabatur* is best taken as an impersonal passive; cf. 28.1.26 *ut sperabatur* and 28.5.5 *longe secus accidit, quam sperabatur*.

For a proper understanding of these words, it is necessary to realize that wine could be used to slake lime in order to produce *maltha*, a kind of cement that made cisterns or bathing-pools waterproof, the quenched lime being mixed with other ingredients: *maltha e calce fit recenti. glæba vino restinguitur, mox tunditur cum adipe suillo et fico* ('then it is pounded with hog's fat and figs')...*quæ res omnium tenacissima et duritiam lapidis antecedit*, Plin. Nat. 36.181 (cf. TLL VIII 206.75–86, Rougé, 1961, 63–64).

Although indignation over the alleged words of Symmachus was apparently the immediate cause for the mob to set fire to his house, the reason behind it must have been socio-economic. Twice before in the *Res Gestæ* Amm. had reported the occurrence of riots in Rome because of a scarcity of wine, in 14.6.1 (*seditiones sunt concitatae graves ob inopiam vini, cuius avidis usibus vulgus intentum ad motus asperos excitatur et crebros*) and, in almost similar words, in 15.7.3. The fact that in the present case Symmachus was accused of refusing to sell his wine at the price that the people hoped for, thus withholding a certain amount of this commodity from the market, makes it almost certain that once again a shortage of wine with the accompanying effect of a price increase was the reason for the people's anger. After all, the people of Rome expected to get wine regularly, not free of cost of course, but certainly at a low price. According to HA A 48.4 *fiscalia vina...non gratuita populo eroganda sed pretio* it was the emperor Aurelian who introduced the public wine allowance in Rome, but, as Vera, 2005 rightly argues, this evidence is unreliable and the allowance must have been initiated at a later time, probably in the interval between Diocletian and Constantine (cf. CIL 6.1784–1785 with Chastagnol,

1950, 167; 1960, 323; Jones 1291 n. 39; Sirks, 1991, 391–392). Some ten years before the incident under discussion took place, the emperor Valentinian had ordered a relaxation of the current prices (*ut...pretio laxamenta tribuantur*, *Cod. Theod.* 11.2.2) and sanctioned “for the several qualities of wine...a reduction of one fourth in the prices as they are current in the open market, so that the same quality of wine shall be bought by the purchasers sc. at the lesser prices” (*sanximus quippe, ut per vini singulas qualitates detracta quarta pretiorum, quae habentur in foro rerum venalium, eadem species a mercantibus conparetur*, *ibid.*, tr. Pharr). Ironically, the constitution just quoted was addressed to the very same Symmachus Phosphorius who c. 375 saw his house burned down. On the day it was issued, 23 October 364 (mss. 365; cf. Pergami, 1993, 102), Symmachus was *praefectus urbi*. Through his efforts, Amm. says (27.3.3), Rome at that time *otio copiisque abundantius solito fruebatur*.

When Symmachus c. 375 fell victim to popular fury, he was of course not *praefectus urbi* any more (it is not quite clear who was; cf. *PLRE* I, Eupraxius, Caesarius 7, Isfalangius and Bassus 21; in the lemma of Isfalangius it is noted that for the period between 372 and 375: “there are gaps in the list of prefects in Ammianus”). Symmachus therefore was not responsible for the distribution of wine to the people, which fell under the brief of the urban prefect (cf. Chastagnol, 1960, 322–325). This is not to say that he had nothing to do with it. In the first place, Symmachus, like all other landowners of Italy, in accordance with statutes of the emperors Constantius and Constans, had to provide “the wine which is customarily furnished for use as cellar supplies” (*vinum, quod ad cellarii usus ministrari solet, cuncti Italiae possessores...conparent*, *Cod. Theod.* 11.1.6, tr. Pharr), that is, wine to be stored away in cellars as part of the regular food supply for the people of Rome (for *cellarium*, see *TLL* III 763.55–60: “i.quod in cella asservatur, penus”, and Pharr’s n. 20 ad *Cod. Theod.* 1.22.4). A not inconsiderable burden, presumably. Secondly, it is likely that there was a conflict of interests between Symmachus and the then urban prefect with regard to providing the people with wine. The fact is that the wine referred to in *Cod. Theod.* 11.1.6, called *fiscalia vina* in *HA A* 48.4, was not the only wine to be sold in Rome. It follows from *Cod. Theod.* 11.2.2 (quoted above) that, in addition to the wine distributed and sold by the government, wine could be purchased on the open market (*in foro rerum venalium*). The existence of such a free market gave landowners like Symmachus the opportunity to make some money in compensation for the loss of income they suffered by being obliged to

furnish *fiscalia vina*. However, though theoretically allowed to set his price, Symmachus apparently was subject to great pressure to sell his wine at the price the people hoped for (*pretiis, quibus sperabatur*), for, as Chastagnol, 1950, 171 plausibly suggests, a moderate price was no doubt strongly recommended by the urban prefect, who must have feared riots, as in the past, *ob inopiam vini*.

Symmachus did not give in and in these circumstances *vilis quidam plebeius* saw his chance to stir the people up against the aristocrat by accusing him of saying that he would prefer to use his wine to slake limekilns (see for *calcaria*, “officina calcariorum”, TLL III 128.62–70) rather than sell it to the people for the price they hoped for. Why these very special words? Why not simply say that Symmachus, rather than sell his wine cheap, preferred to pour it down the drain? What was the context in which the words objected to do fit? Did the remark hint at the use of *maltha* due to the “building operations of the Symmachi around this time” (Matthews, 1975, 20 n. 2, referring to Symm. *Ep.* 1.10 and 1.12)? Or was there a connection with public building activities rather than with private ones, such as the construction at that time of a new *forum* (*ILS* 776, cf. *PLRE* I, Eupraxius) and the restoration of many old buildings, including the *porticus Eventus Boni* (Amm. 29.6.19, cf. *PLRE* I, Caesarius 7)? We can only speculate, but, whatever the case may have been, in his contemporaries to name wine and *calcaria* in one breath apparently touched a nerve.

Interestingly, the combination of wine and lime is also found in two constitutions of the *Cod. Theod.*, 14.6.1 and 14.6.3, under the heading *De calcis coctoribus urbis Romae et Constantinopolitanae*. However, the connection between the two elements there is totally different from that in the present text. See Rougé, 1961.

- 3.5** *Advenit post hunc urbis moderator Lampadius ex praefecto praetorio* Apart from section 11 below, this is the only instance of *advenire* “de magistratum ingredientibus”, TLL I 833.70–72. Amm. rarely puts the main verb in first position. As Van de Wiel, 1989, 77–78 observes, this is repeatedly the case with the verb *advenire*. It is the opening word in a speech (16.12.30; 25.3.15), or it introduces, as in the present passage, an important development in the narrative (14.11.11; 27.3.11; 27.4.11; 29.1.14). *Moderator* is a general term, used also for military commanders, provincial governors and even the emperor himself. See the note ad 20.8.14 *residuos*. The full name of Symmachus’ successor was C. Caecilius Rufius Volusianus *signo* Lampadius (*PLRE* I, Volusianus 5 + J. Martindale in

Historia 29 [1980] 496; Chastagnol, 1962, 164–169). One of his sons is mentioned by Amm. in 28.1.26 (*Lollianus... Lampadii filius ex praefecto*). As PVR Lampadius succeeded Symmachus between 10 March 365 (see the note ad § 3 *Multo tamen*) and 4 April 365 (*Cod. Theod.* 1.6.5; the date is Seeck's, the mss. give 368; cf. Pergami, 1993, 193–194). There is no agreement when his term ended. According to the authors of the *PLRE* this was in the very same year 365. They accept with Seeck 17 September 365 as terminus post quem, on account of *Cod. Iust.* 1.19.5. However, Chastagnol, 1962, 168 argued not implausibly for 18 February 366 as terminus post quem, referring to *Cod. Theod.* 8.5.22 (contra Seeck, 1919, 118–119; cf. Pergami, 1993, 318–320) and, accordingly, dated the end of Lampadius' term and the beginning of Viventius' prefecture (for which see § 11–15) to 366. For the office of PVR see above, ad § 2 *ad vicem*.

Lampadius had been *praefectus praetorio* in 355 (*Cod. Theod.* 3.12.2, 11.30.26, 11.34.2, 11.36.12, *Cod. Iust.* 6.22.6), in Gaul (so the authors of the *PLRE* and Barnes, 1992, 256) or Italy (so Chastagnol, 1962, 166 and Marié n. 172). It is unlikely that he was already in function in 354, as Zos. 2.55.3 seems to suggest (see Paschoud's note 70). There had been rumours that as PPO Lampadius had conspired with Dynamius, mentioned above ad 27.3.2 *hanc eandem*, and some others against Silvanus (15.5.4, q.v.). As a result the emperor Constantius had him dismissed and ordered a trial. However, Lampadius was acquitted (15.5.13). See for (literature on) the office of *praefectus praetorio* the notes ad 21.6.5 *Anatolio*, 23.5.6 *quem praefectus*, 25.3.14 *Salutius* and 26.2.1 *propinquantē*.

homo indignanter admodum sustinens, si, etiam cum spueret, non laudaretur ut id quoque prudenter praeter alios faciens This has been called a bowdlerized and priggish paraphrase of Juv. 3.106–7 *laudare paratus/si bene ructavit, si rectum minxit amicus* (Den Hengst, 2007, 172), because Amm. substitutes the less offensive *spuere* for Juvenal's *ructare* and *mingere*, and somewhat pedantically explains the witticism. For possible traces of Juvenal in Ammianus see also Rees, 1999 and Kelly, 2008, 166–167. *Laudaretur* is con. iterativus, for which see the note ad 23.4.6 *cum...ad. Sustinere* is found from Apuleius onwards in the sense of 'to tolerate': *Met.* 5.10 *nequeo sustinere ulterius tam beatam fortunam allapsam indignae*. A similar expression is found in Cassiod. *hist.* 5.42.18 *multo tempore sustinuimus eos...indignantes*.

sed nonnumquam severus et frugi He did not quite reach the level of Bruttius, who in the words of Cicero's son deserved praise for being

at the same time strict, sober and a pleasant companion, *Fam.* 16.21.4 *cuius cum frugi severaque est vita tum etiam iucundissima convictio.*

- 3.6 *hic cum magnificos praetor ederet ludos et uberrime largiretur* V's reading *cum magnifico spreto redderet* illustrates the *modus operandi* of this scribe, who copies single words, not sentences. Mistaking *cum* for a preposition he adds an 'ablative' *magnifico*, followed by a 'participle' *spreto*, and is left with *reddetur*, which he 'emends' to *redderetur*. If only all his mistakes were so easily corrected.

When precisely Lampadius was *praetor*, is not known, but Chastagnol's conjecture that he held this office circa 335–340 may be close to the mark (1962, 166; cf. Barnes 116: "presumably late in the reign of Constantine"). In Rome there were three praetors at the time, the *praetor urbanus*, mentioned by Amm. in 26.1.1, the *praetor tutelaris* and the *praetor triumphalis* (cf. Chastagnol, 1958, 238–243, 247). Which praetorship Lampadius held is not known. Neither do we know how old Lampadius was when he was designated, but presumably he was quite young. "L'âge normal doit être entre vingt et vingt-cinq ans", according to Chastagnol, 1958, 238, referring *inter alia* to *Cod. Theod.* 6.4.1, a law of Constantine which shows that praetors could be nominated under the age of sixteen, and listing quite a few praetors under the age of twenty, among them the son of the orator Symmachus (*PLRE* II, Symmachus 10).

Praetors customarily administered the exhibition of games (D.C. 54.2.3, *Cod. Theod.* 6.4.13; cf. in general Chastagnol, 1958, 241 ff.; Jones 537–542; Giglio, 2007). This remained their main duty during the fourth and the first half of the fifth century, as is shown by the greater part of the constitutions in the Theodosian Code assembled under the heading *De praetoribus et quaestoribus* (6.4). Of course, not every praetor could afford to give such magnificent games as those of Lampadius or Q. Aurelius Symmachus *signo* Eusebius, who is said to have spent two thousand pounds of gold when his son, mentioned above, celebrated his praetorship in 401 (*Olymp. Hist. fr.* 41.2). However, in general the costs involved were considerable – Boethius' saying in *Consol.* 3.4, *praetura magna olim potestas, nunc inane nomen et senatorii census gravis sarcina*, does not only apply to his own time (cf. Zos. 2.38.3 and *Cod. Theod.* 6.4.4). Besides spending money for the organisation of the games proper, praetors were expected to spend extra money on presents in the form of *sportulae*, *diptycha* and *apophoreta* (cf. *Cod. Theod.* 15.9.1, Symm. *Ep.* 5.56).

plebis nequiens tolerare tumultum Young as he presumably was (see above), Lampadius proved that he was not afraid to stand up to the *plebs*, which

at the games had an opportunity to voice their positive or negative feelings by way of *acclamationes* (cf. e.g. 16.10.13 *et saepe, cum equestres ederet ludos* sc. Constantius, *dicacitate plebis oblectabatur*; 28.4.32, about expressions of discontent in the theatre; *Cod. Theod.* 8.5.32, where mention is made of “the unimpaired perpetuity granted to the acclamations of Our Roman people”, *adclamationibus populi Romani nostri... concessa iugitas illibata*, tr. Pharr; see Demandt, 2007², 440 and 456 with n. 51).

indignis multa donari saepe urgentis “Mimis enim, et histrionibus, et auri-gis” (Wagner, referring to Amm.’s digressions on Rome in 14.6 and 28.4). In his long and learned note Valesius quotes HA *Car* 20 and a number of Christian authors deploring the enormous amounts of money spent on these games, among them August. in *psalm.* 149.10 *isti fastidiunt pauperem, quia non clamat populus, ut pauper accipiat; clamat autem populus, ut venator accipiat*. Neri, 1988, 65, however, points out that it is surprising for the *plebs* to demand for additional rewards for actors and charioteers, because the games have just been described as magnificent and Lampadius as extremely generous (*cum magnificos praetor ederet ludos et uberrime largiretur*). He suggests that the *plebs* may have been disappointed by the gifts that were distributed usually among the citizens during these games.

ut liberalem se et multitudinis ostenderet contemptorem Curt. 4.9.12 *Ceterum omnis periculi et maxime multitudinis contemptor* is different, since it refers to Alexander’s disdain for the numerical superiority of the Persians. V’s *et* is rightly defended by Petschenig, 1891, 336–337, who observes that Amm., like Tacitus, often writes *et* where one would expect *sed* or *autem*; e.g. 22.9.11 *iussus... abire tacitus et innoxius*; 25.2.8 *orabant haruspices saltim aliquot horis projectionem differri et ne hoc quidem sunt adepti*. Other examples in Sabbah 532 n. 67; see also TLL V 2.893.4–54.

accitos a Vaticano quosdam egentes opibus ditaverat magnis The various adjectives denoting poverty are discussed by Bolkestein, 1939, 327–329. See now also Freu, 2007, *passim*; esp. 246–247, 270, 279, 312, 485, 574. *Egentes* is stronger than *pauperes*, and denotes penniless people, whereas *pauperes* can be used for people of modest means. Various interpretations of this passage have been proposed. Some scholars, e.g. Van de Wiel, 1989, 81, regard Amm.’s phrase as no more than a general reference to the inhabitants of the *Vaticanum*, a poor and unhealthy part of the city of Rome which lay opposite the *Campus Martius* on the right bank of the Tiber (cf. Tac. *Hist.* 2.93.1 *infamibus Vaticani locis*). In the

first century A.D. there had been an arena for chariot racing in this area, which, instead of *circus Vaticanus*, as in Plin. *Nat.* 36.74 *in Vaticano Gai et Neronis principum circo*, could simply be called *Vaticanum*, as in Suet. *Cl.* 21.2 *circenses frequenter etiam in Vaticano commisit* and in the only other passage in Amm. where *Vaticanum* occurs, 17.4.16. Amm. speaks there of four obelisks which were brought to Rome, *quorum unus in Vaticano, alter in hortis Sallusti, duo in Augusti monumento erecti sunt*. However, this “circus seems not to have been long in use” (Richardson, 1992, 84; cf. Humphrey, 1986, 545–552).

Other scholars see a connection with the church built on the Vatican hill by Constantine on the site of the present Saint Peter’s (its “dating can be narrowed to the period of the 320s”, Johnson, 2006, 287; cf. Arbeiter, 1988, 51–60). Valesius, for instance, wrote: “Intellego pauperes, qui in vestibulo aedis Apostolorum, quae erat in Vaticano, stantes stipem petebant...quod et in aliis Ecclesiis seu Basilicis Christianorum observabatur”. With regard to the situation in Rome he brought up as parallels Procopius *Arc.* 26.29 (τοῖς τε προσαιτηταῖς οἱ παρὰ τὸν Πέτρου τοῦ ἀποστόλου νεὼν δίαιταν εἶχον, τρισχιλίουσιν σίτου μεδίμνους χορηγεῖν ἀεὶ τὸ δημόσιον ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος διώρισεν, “and to the beggars who had their station beside the Church of Peter the Apostle, he [sc. Justinian] ordered that the treasury should forever supply each year three thousand measures of corn”, tr. Dewing) and Paulinus Nolanus *epist.* 13.11 (*pauperes, qui tota Roma stipem meritant, multitudinem in aula apostoli congregasti...; videre...mihi videor tota illa religiosa miserandae plebis examina, illos pietatis divinae alumnos tantis influere penitus agminibus in amplissimam gloriosi Petri basilicam*, “In the basilica of the apostle you [sc. Pammachius] gathered together a crowd of poor people, those from the whole of Rome deserving of alms...; I seem to behold all those pious swarms of the wretched populace, the nurslings of God’s affection, thronging in great lines deep into the huge basilica of the renowned Peter”, tr. Walsh). Neri, 1988, 64 agrees with this view and mentions several parallels for beggars sitting near the entrance of church buildings.

Matthews 417 also seems to regard paupers who used to await support from the Christian church on the Vatican as the beneficiaries of Lampadius’ action. However, unlike Valesius, he sees the praetor’s invitation to the poor as an attempt to outdo “papal charity”, rather than as an act of benevolence in itself. Matthews’ reasoning presupposes that Lampadius was a pagan (which he, like his wife, surely was, at any rate for the greater part of his life; *AE* 1945.55 + *AE* 1955.180

and *ILS* 4413 are adduced as evidence in the *PLRE*-lemma devoted to him, cf. Von Haehling, 1978, 293; see *ILS* 4154 for his wife Caecinia Lolliana, “grande dame païenne” [Chastagnol, 1961], and priestess of Isis). Barnes 116 argues from a different perspective. He admits that Lampadius’ wife was a priestess of Isis (he does not mention the inscriptions just cited with regard to her husband). “Yet that does not exclude the possibility that the prefect had been a Christian under Constantine, when it would have helped his career”. This Christian Lampadius, in the opinion of Barnes, when summoning some poverty-stricken beggars from the Vatican and giving them great wealth, supported Christianity, for “these beggars from the Vatican [were] Christian clerics who received a large donation for the great new church dedicated to Saint Peter” (in support of this supposition Barnes refers to *Zos.* 2.32.1).

The validity of the suggestions made by Valesius and Barnes is open to doubt. Apart from the fact that *Amm.*’s wording would be rather obscure if he really had Christian clerics in mind when he wrote *quosdam egentes*, Barnes’ reference to the passage of Zosimus about Constantine (εἰς οἰκοδομίας δὲ πλείστας ἀνωφελεῖς τὰ δημόσια χρήματα δαπανῶν, ‘spending public money on a great many useless building projects’) is not very apt, for the remark concerns the emperor’s building activities in Constantinople, not in Rome. Moreover, the idea that the aristocratic Volusianus Lampadius was a Christian convert who later changed again to paganism is rather speculative and should not be accepted. As to the parallels adduced by Valesius, they are less illustrative than they might seem at first sight. The religious landscape in the city of Rome in the time of Justinian, about whom Procopius writes, was rather different from that of the 330s or 340s when Lampadius was *praetor*, while the Pammachius spoken of in Paulinus’ letter, written c. 390, was a devout Christian (*PLRE* I, Pammachius quotes *Hier. epist.* 57.1: *vir omnium nobilium Christianissime, Christianorum nobilissime*), which Lampadius definitely was not. Matthews’ view is more attractive, but his suggestion, italicized in the following quotation, lacks proof: “pressed by the people to distribute money to the unworthy, ‘in order to show himself both generous and contemptuous of the multitude’, and *apparently combining this with a sarcastic comment upon papal charity*’, he summoned and arbitrarily enriched a collection of paupers ‘from the Vatican’”.

A connection between the action of the pagan Lampadius and Christian charity is hard to substantiate (note the hesitation of Finn, 2006,

102 to accept it). McLynn goes even further: “there is not the slightest indication that Christians and pagans so much as acknowledged each other’s presence on the Vatican” (1996, 328). He offers another interesting but conjectural explanation. Pointing to the fact that there was on the Vatican hill not only a recently built Christian church, but also a much older pagan cult center, the *Phrygianum* (for which see Richardson, 1992, 290), he assumes that it was from this Vatican Phrygianum that the pagan Lampadius summoned *quosdam egentes* to the circus where he held his praetorian games (1996, 329).

It is difficult to grasp what precisely Amm. had in mind when he wrote the words under discussion, but one thing at least is clear: Lampadius’ invitation to the poor, apart from being a snub to the populace, had more to do with time-honoured pagan εὐεργεσία than with Christian *caritas*. See for all this in particular Hunt, 2006, and further Colombo, 2008, 199–207.

- 3.7 *ne latius evagemur, hoc unum sufficiet poni* For *evagari* ‘to digress’ see TLL V 2.993.57–79 and cf. the note ad 25.4.13 *denique id pro multis nosse sufficiet* for similar expressions.

per omnia enim civitatis membra As has been observed ad 20.6.7 *cuncta oppidi*, the metaphor *membra urbis*, *-civitatis* is found almost exclusively in Amm. The only other instance is Prud. *c. Symm.* 2.447–448 *perque omnia membra/urbis*. See also TLL VIII 643.52–54. Possibly the author had the common Greek expression τῆς πόλεως μέρη in mind, Plut. *Aem.* 32.2 ὁ μὲν δῆμος ἔν τε τοῖς ἱππικοῖς θεάτροις...καὶ τᾶλλα τῆς πόλεως μέρη καταλαμβάνοντες...ἐθεῶντο; Hdn. 1.14.5 κατεφλέχθη δὲ καὶ ἄλλα πλεῖστα τῆς πόλεως μέρη καὶ κάλλιστα.

nomen proprium inscribebat, non ut veterum instaurator, sed conditor Augustus, whom Livy called *templorum omnium conditorem aut restitutorem* (4.20.7), used to restore ancient monuments under the name of the original dedicators, Suet. *Aug.* 31.5 *opera cuiusque manentibus titulis restituit*. Hadrian went one step further, HA *H* 19.9 *cum opera ubique infinita fecisset, numquam ipse nisi in Traiani patris templo nomen suum scripsit* (see Fündling’s copious note ad loc.), as did Septimius Severus, HA *S* 23.1 *magnum vero illud in civitate eius, quod Romae omnes aedes publicas, quae vitio temporum labebantur, instauravit nusquam prope suo nomine adscripto, servatis tamen ubique titulis conditorum*.

Although Lampadius’ prefecture is attested “par un assez grand nombre d’inscriptions” (Chastagnol, 1962, 168), none of them confirms

Amm.'s statement (which is not to say that Amm. is wrong). *AE* 1975.134, for example, about the need to renovate the banks and bridges of the Tiber (*[A]lbei Tiberis ripas et pontes tredecim [q]uos dissimulatio longa corruperat et publica dispendia requirebant*), duly mentions Valentinian and Valens as those who commissioned the repair (*dd. nn. Valentinianus et Valens triumphff. semper Augg. constitui fierique iusserunt*) and only refers to Lampadius in an aside (*regente urbi praefectura Ceionio Rufio Volusiano v.c. ex praef. praet. praef. urbi*). And *ILS* 5791, about the building of a *castellum* of the *aqua Claudia*, names, apart from the emperors and the urban prefect, also the *consularis aquarum* Eustochius (*PLRE* I, Eustochius 4), who must have been the man actually in charge of the construction of the reservoir.

quo vitio laborasse Traianus dicitur princeps, unde eum herbam parietinam iocando cognominarunt According to *epit.* 41.13 the nickname was given by Constantine: *Hic Traianum herbam parietariam ob titulos multis aedibus inscriptos appellare solitus erat*. Cf. also the Continuator of Dio *fr.* 15.2 (FHG IV 199) τὸν δὲ Τραιανὸν βοτάνην τοίχου (ἐκάλει, sc. Constantine). Bleckmann, 1991, 356 rightly concludes from Amm.'s wording (*dicitur, cognominarunt*) “dass dieses Scherzwort durchaus allgemein verbreitet war.” Rohrbacher, 2006, 120 traces the anecdote to Eunapius or his Latin source. Kulikowski, 2007, 254 suggests that Marius Maximus was the original source of this joke. This is entirely possible, although his linguistic argument that *parietinus* is the older or even ‘Ciceronian’ form of the adjective is not valid. As TLL X 1.393.83–84 shows, *parietarius* is found already from the first century onward and the reading *parietinum* in Cic. *Ver.* 4.128 is a conjecture; TLL X 1.398.54–55.

Hic praefectus exagitatus est motibus crebris The Roman *plebs* was notoriously unruly and prone to rioting, as Amm. had already made clear in his account of Orfitus’ prefecture, 14.6.1 *vulgus... ad motus asperos excitatur et crebros*, and that of Leontius, 15.7.2 et seq.

3.8

cum collecta plebs infima domum eius prope Constantinianum lavacrum iniectis facibus incenderat et malleolis The baths of Constantine, which, according to Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 40.27, measured up to those of others (*ad lavandum institutum opus ceteris haud multo dispar*), were “the last of the imperial baths to be constructed in Rome” (Johnson, 2006, 281). They were situated toward the southern end of the Quirinal. In 443 they were due for repairs and restored to their former beauty by the then urban prefect Petronius Perpenna Magnus Quadratianus (*Constantinianas*

thermas... in pristinam faciem splendoremque restituit, *ILS* 5703). See for more information about the history of the baths Richardson, 1992, 390–391 and Vilucchi, 1999. For the use of the indicative in the apodosis of an unreal conditional clause see the note ad 22.10.4 *gaudebam*.

See for arson by the *plebs* and for *domus* the notes ad § 4 *qui consumptis* and *vilis quidam*. There is a detailed description of the *malleolus* ('fire-dart') in 23.4.14 (q.v.). Torches and firedarts are regularly mentioned together, e.g. 20.6.6 *dimicabatur artissime facesque cum taedis ardentibus et malleolis ad exurendum imminens malum undique convolabant*; 24.4.16 *facibus et malleolis eos longius propulsabant*; Liv. 42.64.2 *faces taedamque et malleolos stuppae inlitos pice parari iubet*, but these instances are from descriptions of sieges. What is surprising in the present passage is the fact that the rabble have firedarts at their disposal. It cannot be ruled out that *faces et malleoli* has become a standard phrase, possibly under the influence of the famous passage Cic. *Cat.* 1.32 *desinant insidiari domi suae consuli, circumstare tribunal praetoris urbani, obsidere cum gladiis curiam, malleolos et faces ad inflammandam urbem comparare*. Stones and tiles, however, are normal weapons in urban warfare, cf. 26.6.16 *ne a celsioribus tectis saxis vel tegularum fragmentis conflictarentur* (q.v.); Liv. 5.21.10 *cum ex tectis saxa tegulaeque a mulieribus ac servitiis iacerentur*; Tac. *Hist.* 3.71.1 *saxis tegulisque Vitellianos obruebant*.

ni vicinorum et familiarium veloci concursu a summis tectorum culminibus petita saxis et tegulis abscessisset In Amm. *familiaris* either means 'friend', as in 15.5.3 *Dynamius... commendaticias ab eo petierat litteras ad amicos, ut quasi familiaris eiusdem esset notissimus* and 26.10.11 *ut familiaris suscipiebatur et fidus*, or 'slave', for which meaning cf. 14.6.16 *familiarium agmina tamquam praedatorios globos post terga trahentes* and 28.2.13 *familiares hebetatis sensibus non defenderant dominum*. The latter meaning seems decidedly preferable here.

- 3.9 *eaque vi territus ipse primitiis crebrescentis seditionis in maius* Gelenius' reading *fremitu* for V's *premitus* is evidently right, since, as Viansino, 2003, 89 notes, Amm. imitates here Tac. *Hist.* 1.39.1 *Iam exterritus Piso fremitu crebrescentis seditionis*. The pleonastic *in maius* is also found with verbs like *augere*, 16.10.17 (*fama*) *augens omnia semper in maius*, 22.15.7 (Nilus) *adolescens in maius*, and *exaggerare*, 29.3.1 (*pravitas*) *crimina in maius exaggerando*.

secessit ad Mulvium pontem, quem struxisse superior dicitur Scaurus Lampadius was not the only urban prefect who fled from the town because of riots.

His successor Viventius did the same: *secessit in suburbanum* (27.3.12). Chastagnol, 1960, 269 cites still other examples. Seyfarth follows Gelenius and prints *Mulvium*, no doubt correctly (V has *mullium*). E reads *Milvium*, as in Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 40.23 (cf. the common designation in English for the bridge, famous for Constantine's victory over Maxentius). Italian Ponte Molle reminds of *Molvius*, to be found e.g. in HA Gall. 18.5. *Pons Mulvius* is the oldest name, first attested in Liv. 27.51.2. Livy speaks there of citizens of Rome who in 207 B.C. came *ad Mulvium usque pontem*, just north of Rome along the *via Flaminia*, to meet messengers from the Metaurus. Since, as Le Gall, 1953, 86–88 points out, all Roman bridges with the exception of the *pons Sublicius* were named after the men who had them built (*pons Aemilius*, *pons Fabricius* etc.), and since the gentilicium *Mulvius* is attested (V. Max. 8.1.6 mentions a *triumvir nocturnus* of that name of about 241 B.C.), there must have been a person called *Mulvius* who laid the foundation for the bridge. Who he was and when he lived is unknown. The terminus ante quem is 220 B.C., when the *via Flaminia* was constructed (Liv. *per.* 20; Sigonius' proposal to read there <*C. Flaminius censor viam Flaminiam*> *muniit et circum Flaminium extruxit* is commonly accepted), but the bridge "may date from the fourth century" (Chevalier, 1989, 96; cf. Le Gall, 1953, 87–88; see further Galliazzo, 1995, I, 32–36).

Amm.'s statement about Scaurus is also found in *Vir. ill.* 72.8: (M. Aemilius Scaurus) *censor viam Aemiliam stravit, pontem Mulvium fecit*. We must assume that this M. Aemilius Scaurus, censor in 109 B.C. (Broughton, 1951, 545), rebuilt the wooden *pons Mulvius* in stone. Archaeological evidence corroborates this hypothesis (cf. Le Gall, 1953, 89). The Scaurus of the present text should not be confused with the Scauri mentioned in 22.15.24 (q.v.). As to the expression *superior... Scaurus*, cf. 15.10.10 *superioris Africani pater*, 21.14.5 *superior Scipio*, 26.6.20 *superior Gordianus*.

adlenimenta ibidem tumultus opperiens The noun *adlenimentum* is a hapax; TLL I 1673. 29–32. Langen, 1867, 5–6, compiled a list of no fewer than 150 hapax legomena in the *Res Gestae*, meant as a warning against hasty rejection of unattested words. Thanks to the TLL and the scholarly investigation of the textual tradition of Ammianus many items on the list can be crossed out, but Langen's observation should still be taken seriously. On the other hand, *lenire* is often used in the context of public disorder, also by Amm. himself, e.g. Liv. 28.26.5 *qui et antea Sucronem ad leniendam seditionem ierant*; Sen. *Contr.* 2.6.4 *ut seditionem*

leniret; Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 6.3 *Quo cum lorica tectus Galba tumultum leniturus contenderet*; Amm. 17.10.1 *Lenito tandem tumultu*; 27.9.9 *tumultu lenito*.

Blomgren and Petschenig, 1892, 523 were unwilling to accept *adlenimentum*. On p. 169 the former proposed to read *ad lenimenta ibidem tumultus opperiens* and to interpret *ad* in a temporal sense “fere i.q. *dum tumultus leniretur*”. Such a use of *opperiri ad* is, however, without parallel. Petschenig suggested *ut lenimenta... opperiens*, in which case *ut* with participle would indicate Lampadius’ intention as it might be inferred from his act: ‘in order to wait for the tumult to subside’, but again there is no parallel for this use of *ut* + participle in the *Res Gestae*. Novák, 1896, 54 was of the opinion that *ad* was inadvertently repeated from the preceding *ad Mulvium pontem* and should be deleted, which would be by far the easiest remedy. Still, the plural *adlenimenta* is puzzling, and it is quite possible that the corruption goes deeper.

quem causa concitaverat gravis For a very similar introductory phrase cf. the beginning of the famous “Arrest of Petrus Valvomeris” in 15.7.2 *prima igitur causa seditionis in eum* (the urban prefect Leontius) *concitandae vilissima fuit et levis*.

- 3.10 *aedificia erigere exordiens nova vel vetusta quaedam instaurans* The possibility that Lampadius started the construction of new buildings cannot be ruled out, but is undoubtedly slight, for in *Cod. Theod.* 15.1.11, addressed to Lampadius’ predecessor Symmachus, the emperor Valentinian had recommended the restoration of existing buildings in Rome rather than the erection of new ones: *intra urbem Romam aeternam nullus iudicum novum opus informet, quotiens serenitatis nostrae arbitria cessabunt. ea tamen instaurandi, quae iam deformibus ruinis intercidiisse dicuntur, universis licentiam damus* (“None of the magistrates shall construct any new building within the Eternal City of Rome if the order therefor of Our Serenity should be lacking. However, We grant permission to all to restore those buildings which are said to have fallen into unsightly ruins”, tr. Pharr, adapted). Cf. Chastagnol, 1960, 343 and Matthews, 1975, 22. During Symmachus’ and Lampadius’ prefectures Valentinian issued similar laws with respect to other cities (*Cod. Theod.* 15.1.14–17). See for building activities under the Valentinian dynasty Niquet, 2001.

non ex titulis solitis parari iubebat impensas ‘He did not order to meet the costs from the usual funds’. Marić in n. 179 refers to *Cod. Theod.* 9.17.2 for *tituli* in the sense of ‘building funds’: *si ex praecepto iudicum monumenta*

deiecta sunt, ne sub specie publicae fabricationis poena vitetur (i.e. the fine for illegal usurpation of building material), *eosdem iudices iubemus hanc multam agnoscere; nam ex vectigalibus vel aliis titulis aedificare debuerunt*. In 19.11.3 *exquisitorum detestanda nomina titulorum* and 30.5.6 *exitialia provisorum nomina titulorum* the phrase *nomina titulorum* seems to refer to added taxation imposed under unusual pretexts.

apparitores immittebantur The prefect Leontius also used his *apparitores* to arrest the ringleaders of the riots during his prefecture, 15.7.2 *immissis apparitoribus correptos aliquos vexatosque tormentis...multavit*. As is noted ad 23.5.6 *apparitoris*, Amm. uses the term *apparitor* thirteen times as a general term for the clerks and officials in the various offices of the civilian and military dignitaries (and another six times in expressions like *ut apparitor fidus* in 20.8.6). The *apparitor* mentioned in 23.5.6 served in the office of the praetorian prefect and may have been its *princeps* (see for the organization of the praetorian office the literature cited in the note ad loc.). No such clear specification is possible here, for the *apparitores* of the present text were officials of the urban prefect, and, “unfortunately, there is no account of the internal organization of the urban *officium*” (Sinnigen, 1957, 63). On the other hand, this *officium* “cannot have been very different from its praetorian counterpart” (ibid.) and will therefore likewise have had a number of subclerical grades below the branches of clerks and scribes. The *apparitores* sent by Lampadius to seize building materials probably belonged to these grades of ushers, messengers and attendants.

qui velut ementes diversas raperent species nulla pretia persolvendo For the plural *species* ‘goods’, ‘wares’ see the note ad 23.2.8. The abl. gerundii *persolvendo* is the equivalent of a present participle; see the notes ad 20.4.22 *diu tacendo* and 23.6.79 *nec stando*.

accensorum iracundiam pauperum damna deflentium crebra For *iracundia* (and *ira*) see the note ad 20.8.8. The indignant frustration of the poor is emphasized by this somewhat overloaded phrase. *Accensus* without abl. is found also in 19.6.8 *cum iam undique frendentium catervae Persarum in proelia venirent accensae* and 27.10.5 *milite nihilo minus accenso*.

Advenit successor eius ex quaesitore palatii Viventius, integer et prudens Pannonius When precisely Viventius took up his duties as successor of Lampadius is disputed. See for the terminus post quem, 17 September

365 or 18 February 366, the note ad § 5 *Advenit*. The terminus ante quem is 1 October 366 (*Avell.* 1.6 [p. 2, 28–3, 4]; but see Lippold, 1965, 118–119). The spelling *ex quaesitore* is Gelenius' correction of V's *exquisitore*, caused no doubt by wrong word division, as is frequently the case in V. The correction is substantially correct (Viventius' quaestorship was mentioned in 26.4.4 *Viventio Sisciano quaestori tunc*), but Gelenius failed to notice that Ammianus always writes *quaestor* when he speaks about the *quaestor sacri palatii* and *quaesitor* when he means 'investigator in a criminal matter', as in 20.2.2 (imperator) *Arbitionem et Florentium officiorum magistrum quaesitores dederat spectaturos, quas ob res oppidum sit excisum* (q.v.). Literature on the function of *quaestor*, which, according to Zos. 5.32, had been created by Constantine, is cited in the note ad loc. and ad 20.9.4 *Leonam*. Harries, 1999, 42–47, Matthews, 2000, 173–178 and Coşkun, 2001 can be added. Harries, 1988, 154–155 argues that it was only in the fifth century that the full title *quaestor sacri palatii* instead of mere *quaestor* became common, although she concedes that Flavius Taurus (*PLRE* I, Taurus 3) on *AE* 1934.159 dating from the mid-360s is already referred to as *quaestori sacri palati*. This tallies with the way in which Amm. uses the word. Apart from the present text (not discussed by Harries), he always (twelve times) writes *quaestor* without any addition. As Sabbah 421 n. 59 notes, Viventius is an exception to Amm.'s stereotype of the Pannonians as cruel and boorish people, for which see the note ad 26.1.4 *qui cum potiorum*. For *integer* as the opposite of *corruptus* see the note ad 26.3.1 *iudex integer*.

cuius administratio quieta fuit et placida copia rerum omnium fluente The text is not beyond suspicion. There are no parallels to *fluere* in the sense of *abundare*; one would expect *affluere*. Cf. Liv. 23.4.4 (Capua) *prona semper civitas in luxuriam...affluenti copia voluptatum et inlecebris omnis amoenitatis maritimae terrestisque*; Cic. *Off.* 1.153 *omnium rerum affluentibus copiis*; Amm. 14.2.19 *Isauri quidem alimentorum copiis affluebant*; 14.8.8 *Antiochia...cui non certaverit alia advecticiis ita affluere copiis et internis*; 19.11.2 *Anatolio regente tunc per Illyricum praefecturam necessaria cuncta...affluebant*; 24.1.15 *vitae subsidiis affluentes* (q.v.); 23.6.29; 28.5.9. With these parallels in mind it seems preferable to read *affluente* or *affluente* with Clark, Rolfe and Seyfarth's bilingual edition. For the characterisation of Viventius' prefecture cf. Lactantius' chiliastic expectation in *Inst.* 7.24.8: *quieta et placida erunt omnia*. The combination of *quietus* and *placidus* is also found in 29.2.16, 30.10.3 and 31.2.22 *hominibus quietis et placidis*. For a list of similar instances of *abundantia verborum* see Hagendahl, 1924, 173–183.

Viventius had to face unrest among the Christian part of the Roman populace, as Amm. makes clear in the next sentences, but like Apronianus (26.3.6, q.v.) he was at least not confronted with revolts caused by scarcity of food or wine. Most of the other urban prefects, among them Orfitus and Leontius (mentioned in the note ad 27.3.8 *Hic praefectus*), were less lucky in this respect (cf. the note ad 26.3.1 *inter curarum*). Still, in view of the violent disorders that will be reported in this section the characterisation of Viventius' prefecture is surprising. The author obviously wanted to make clear from the start that Viventius had no responsibility whatsoever for the outbreak of violence in the city.

sed hunc quoque discordantis populi seditiones terruere cruentae, quae tale negotium excitavere The troubles facing Viventius are of a different order from those with which prefects normally had to cope, in that people did not rise against him so much as against each other (*discordantis*). Since the prefect was responsible for public order, Viventius could not turn a blind eye to the quarrels among the Christians in Rome. For the fear inspired by Christian factions cf. 15.7.10, where bishop Liberius is treated with great circumspection: *aegre populi metu, qui eius amore flagrabat, cum magna difficultate noctis medio potuit asportari*.

Petschenig, 1897, 382, followed by Clark and Colombo, 2008, 211, preferred to take *negotium* as the subject of the relative clause. He proposed to read *quas tale negotium excitarat* (Vm1 has *excitare*, Vm3 *excitavere*). Amm. uses *negotium* in similar contexts in the sense of 'reason' or 'cause': 16.12.17 *alio itidem modo res est aggravata Romana ex negotio tali*; 27.12.17 *ut concitandas ex hoc quoque negotio turbas consilio prudenti molliret*; 28.1.8 *Principium autem, unde latius se funditabat, emersit ex negotio tali*. However, in view of 15.7.3 *plebs excita calore, quo consuevit* and 21.12.24 *hoc administrante alimentaria res abundavit et querelae plebis excitari crebro solitae cessaverunt*, it would be even better to read *quem tale negotium excitarat* ('the people whom the following matter had roused').

For the second time in the *Res Gestae* attention is paid to the vicissitudes of the See of Rome. In 15.7.6–10 (q.v.) Amm. had related that it was during the administration of the urban prefect Leontius that the then bishop of Rome, Liberius, had been arrested and sent to the court of Constantius (this was in 356, see *PLRE* I, Leontius 22). Leontius had managed to avoid bloodshed by removing Liberius from the city in the middle of the night (*Liberius aegre populi metu, qui eius amore flagrabat, cum magna difficultate noctis medio potuit asportari*, 15.7.10).

Not so Viventius. The *negotium* during his term of office which Amm. narrates in § 12–15, in a way the direct sequel of the removal from Rome of Liberius (see below), took its bloody toll: the *discordantis populi seditiones...cruentae* of the present text find their counterpart in § 12 and 13 (*ad usque mortis vulnerumque discrimina, centum triginta septem...cadavera peremptorum*).

- 3.12** *Damasus et Ursinus* The struggle for the episcopal see between Damasus (*PCBE* II.1, Damasus) and Ursinus (*PCBE* II.2, Ursinus 1) is rather well attested. Apart from Amm. (who continues his account of the affair in 27.9.9, when dealing with the prefecture of Viventius' successor Praetextatus), there is a document entitled *Quae gesta sunt inter Liberium et Felicem episcopos*, printed as number 1 in Guenther's *Avellana quae dicitur collectio* (CSEL 35.1, p. 1–5). It was obviously written by a partisan of Ursinus and in that respect it forms a contrast with the pro-Damasus narratives of Jerome (*Chron.* a. 366), Rufinus (*hist.* 11.10) and Socrates (*HE* 4.29). For modern discussions see Künzle, 1961; Lippold, 1965; Pietri, 1976, 407–418; Neri, 1985, 191–228; De Spirito, 1994; Curran, 2000, 137–142; Coşkun, 2003; Lizzi Testa, 2004, 129–170; Colombo, 2008, 207–225.

The conflict started on 24 September 366, when the episcopal throne of the eternal city became vacant at the death of bishop Liberius (*Avell.* 1.4 [p. 2, 17–18]). However, already before that date Rome had seen fierce strife over the bishopric within the Christian community. Bishop Liberius, in 356 removed from Rome by the prefect Leontius (15.7.10, quoted ad 27.3.11 *sed hunc*), was subsequently sent into exile by Constantius according to the Ursinian author just mentioned (*Avell.* 1.1 [p. 1, 10]), whose testimony is confirmed by e.g. Rufinus (*hist.* 10.23), Socrates (*HE* 2.37.91) and Sozomen (*HE* 4.11.11). Later Liberius was reinstated by the same emperor (*Avell.* 1.3 [p. 2, 3–7]; cf. Rufin. *hist.* 10.28, Socr. *HE* 2.37.94, Soz. *HE* 4.15.4), but in the meantime the archdeacon Felix had taken his place (*Avell.* 1.2 [p. 1, 18–2, 2]; cf. Rufin. *hist.* 10.23, Socr. *HE* 2.37.91–92, Soz. *HE* 4.11.11); this Felix was supported by the *diaconus* Damasus, although both of them had sworn, like all other clerics of Rome, not to accept another *pontifex* as a replacement of Liberius as long as they lived (*Avell.* 1.2 [p. 1, 14–17]) – *quod factum universo populo displicuit*, the Ursinian author indignantly remarks (*ibid.* [p.2, 2]).

After bishop Liberius had returned to Rome (in 358, presumably), it was Felix' turn to be sent away (*Felix notatus a senatu vel populo de urbe*

propellitur, *Avell.* 1.3 [p. 2, 8–9]; cf. *Socr. HE* 2.37.94). After a short while he forced his way back into the city *impulsu clericorum, qui peiuraverant* (a veiled, but unmistakable reference to Damasus cum suis) and took refuge in the Transtiberine *basilica Iuli* (*ibid.* [p. 2, 9–10]), soon to be driven away again (*quem omnis multitudo fidelium et procures de urbe iterum cum magno dedecore proiecerunt, ibid.* [p. 2.12–13]). Felix died on 22 November 365 (*Avell.* 1.4 [p. 2, 14–15]). From then till his own death on 24 September 366 Liberius pursued a policy of reconciliation and restored clerics like Damasus to their old positions (*Liberius misericordiam fecit in clericos, qui peiuraverant, eosque locis propriis suscepit, ibid.* [p. 2, 15–16]).

So much for the previous history of the conflict, for which the Ursinian author (his identity is unknown) is the most detailed source. He wrote his pamphlet during Damasus' lifetime (when precisely is disputed, cf. Künzle, 1961, 14–31; Lippold, 1965, 107; Coşkun, 2003, 18–19) and had as main objective “Damasus herabzusetzen und damit indirekt Ursinus – der in § 1–4 nicht genannt ist – als einzig legitimen Nachfolger des... Liberius herauszustellen” (Lippold, 1965, 106). However, despite his bias, the Ursinian author is generally regarded as reliable with respect to his factual information (Künzle, 1961, 33: “Trotz dieser unverkennbaren Voreingenommenheit ist es jedoch gleichwohl, soviel mir scheint, bis heute kaum gelungen, den Verfasser eines eigentlichen Irrtums, vielleicht nicht einmal einer ausgemachten Lüge zu zeihen”; in similar terms Lippold, 1965, 107; Pietri, 1976, 408–409; Coşkun, 2003, 18).

supra humanum modum ad rapiendam episcopi sedem ardentes scissis studiis asperrime conflictabant The keen ambition of the contenders is brought out by the accumulation of *supra humanum modum*, the strong verbs *rapere* and *ardere* and the superlative *asperrime*. The prepositional phrase is found for the first time in *Iust.* 24.8.4 *iuvenem supra humanum modum insignis pulchritudinis*, where it has its literal meaning of ‘superhuman’, i.e. ‘divine’. In the present passage, as in 17.5.15 *ne supra humanum modum provinciae munitur arctoe*, it has the weakened meaning ‘beyond measure’. Colombo also aptly compares the negative expressions *ultra mortalem modum* and *ultra homines*, c.q. – *hominem* in e.g. 14.11.13 *Constantius ultra mortalem modum exarsit* and 26.8.13 *Ea victoria ultra homines sese Procopius efferebat*. For Amm.’s use of the Christian title *episcopus* and related terms see the note ad 20.7.9 *perstrinxit tamen* and for *ardere ad* the note ad 25.6.15.

For *scissis studiis* cf. 22.5.3 *dissidentes Christianorum antistites cum plebe discissa* (q.v.). As Van de Wiel notes, *scissis studiis* alludes to Verg. *A.* 2.39

scinditur incertum studia in contraria volgus and possibly also to Tac. *Hist.* 1.13.1 *circa consilium eligendi successoris(!) in duas factiones scindebantur*. This makes it practically certain that the *studia* involved are not those of the two leaders, as Seyfarth (“in ihren widerstreitenden Bemühungen”) and Rolfe (“because of their opposing interests”) interpret them, but of their followers: “les sympathies étant partagées” (Marié). Active *conflictare* in the sense of ‘to do battle’ is extremely rare, the only real parallel being Ter. *Phorm.* 505 *cum huius modi umquam usus venit ut conflictares malo*; cf. TLL IV 236.41–46. The only other instance of *conflictare* in Amm., 26.6.16 *metuentes, ne a celsioribus tectis saxis vel tegularum fragmentis conflictarentur*, is of course a real passive. See Flobert, 1975, 409 for a classification of the verb. Gelenius’ *conflictabantur* is in all probability another instance of his tendency to ‘normalize’ Amm.’s Latin while being unaware of the cursus.

While Amm. does not side with one of the warring parties (see Green, 1971 for an attempt to define the denomination of Ursinus’ supporters, but cf. Lippold, 1965, 111; Amm. is completely silent about this topic), our other informants certainly do. When the Ursinian author comes to speak of the events immediately after bishop Liberius’ death, he gives Ursinus pride of place: *tunc presbyteri et diacones Ursinus Amantius et Lupus cum plebe sancta, quae Liberio fidem servaverat in exilio constituto, coeperunt in basilica Iuli procedere et sibi Ursinum diaconum pontificem in loco Liberii ordinari deposcunt* (Avell. 1.5 [p. 2, 18–22]), and then disdainfully depicts Damasus as the candidate of those who had once broken their oath and as successor, not to the rightful bishop Liberius, but to Felix, the antipope: *periuri vero in Lucinis Damasum sibi episcopum in loco Felicis expostulant* (ibid. [p. 2, 22–23]). Moreover, Ursinus was, according to this author, not only the first to be elected, but also the first to be ordained: *Ursinum Paulus Tiburtinus episcopus benedicit. quod ubi Damasus... comperit, ... ad basilicam Iuli perrumpit et... post dies septem... Lateranensem basilicam tenuit et ibi ordinatus episcopus* (Avell. 1.5–6 [p. 2, 24–3, 2]). Cf. Avell. 1.6 [p. 3, 3–4] *Ursinus vir venerabilis, qui prius fuerat pontifex ordinatus*.

The pro-Damasus sources paint a different picture. Rufinus (*hist.* 11.10) sees Damasus, not Ursinus, as Liberius’ legitimate successor (*Damasus post Liberium per successionem sacerdotium in urbe Roma suscep-erat*) and regards Ursinus as a bad loser (*quem praelatum sibi non ferens*), who resorted to violence when he did not get his way. Socrates in his *HE* 4.29.1–3 sings the same song: Δάμασος μετὰ Λιβέριον τὴν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ἱερωσύνην ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐδέξατο ἐφ’ οὗ συνέβη ταραχθῆναι τὴν ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐκκλησίαν διὰ τοιαύτην αἰτίαν. Οὐρσίνος τις τῆς

αὐτῆς ἐκκλησίας διάκονος ὑπόψηφος γέγονεν (“had been nominated among others”, tr. Zenos), ἥνικα ἡ ἐπιλογὴ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου ἐγένετο. Ἐπεὶ οὖν προεκρίθη Δάμασος, μὴ φέρων ὁ Οὐρσίνος τὴν τῆς ἐλπίδος ἀποτυχίαν, παρασυνάξει τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐσπούδασε· καὶ πείθει τινὰς ἀσήμεους ἐπισκόπους ἐν παραβύστῳ χειροτονῆσαι αὐτόν (“held schismatic assemblies apart from the church, and even induced certain bishops of little distinction to ordain him in secret”, tr. Zenos; cf. for the meaning of χειροτονέω here Lampe, 1961, s.v. A.1.b and Coşkun, 2003, 26). Significantly, Jerome (*Chron.* a. 366), though less outspoken, starts his lemma with Damasus’ consecration (*ordinatur episcopus Damasus*). See further Soz. *HE* 6.23.1–2, whose account has the same tenor as that of Rufinus and Socrates (note, however, that he calls Ursinus Ursacinus).

ad usque mortis vulnerumque discrimina adiumentis utriusque progressis Apart from Heges. 3.24, Amm. is the only author who uses the word *adiumenta* in the military sense of *auxilia* ‘auxiliary contingents’: 14.7.9 *scribens ad Caesarem blandius adiumenta paulatim illi subtraxit*, 20.8.16 *hae provinciae malis iactatae continuis externis indigent adiumentis et fortibus*, 23.2.1 *principe respondente nequaquam decere adventiciis adiumentis rem vindicari Romanam*; TLL I 704.32–38 and Petschenig, 1891, 337. Military terminology is also found in Rufinus’ account in *hist.* 11.10: *quo ex facto tanta seditio, immo vero tanta bella coorta sunt alterutrum defendentibus populis, ut replerentur humano sanguine orationum loca*. The prepositional phrase is an extension of the common expression *mortis discrimen* ‘mortal danger’: both parties are willing to risk their lives and sustain injuries.

All sources agree that the conflict was accompanied by a lot of violence (this is belittled by McLynn, 1992, 16–19, as MacMullen, 2003, 487–489 rightly argues). The Ursinian author discerns the following stages (see for the other sources and for stage 3 the note ad § 13 *constatque*): 1) Damasus, as soon as he had heard of Ursinus’ consecration by bishop Paulus of Tibur, *omnes quadrigarios et imperitam multitudinem pretio concitat et armatus fustibus ad basilicam Iuli perrumpit et magna fidelium caede per triduum debacchatus est* (Avell. 1.5 [p. 2, 25–28]). 2) After Damasus himself had been ordained and Ursinus once again had been sent into exile, *coepit Damasus Romanam plebem, quae sibi nolebat procedere, fustibus et caede varia perurgere* (Avell. 1.6 [p. 3, 6–7]). 3) When Damasus tried to remove from the city seven presbyters who were held in custody by the *officium* (sc. of the urban prefect; see for this below, the note ad *quae nec*), the *plebs fidelis* took them *ad basilicam Liberii* as a safe place.

tunc Damasus cum perfidis invitat arenarios quadrigarios et fossores omnemque clerum cum securibus gladiis et fustibus et obsedit basilicam hora diei secunda septimo Kalendarum Novembrium die Gratiano et Dagalaifo cons. (i.e. 26 October 366) *et grave proelium concitavit* (note the military terminology again). *nam effractis foribus igneque subposito aditum, unde inrumperet, exquirebat; nonnulli quoque de familiaribus eius tectum basilicae destruentes tegulis fidelem populum perimebant. tunc universi Damasiani irruentes in basilicam centum sexaginta de plebe tam viros quam mulieres occiderunt; vulneraverunt etiam quam plurimos, ex quibus multi defuncti sunt. de parte vero Damasi nullus est mortuus* (Avell. 1.7 [p. 3, 10–21]). Avell. 1.9 [p. 4, 1] demonstrates that this overview is not exhaustive, for it says: *quintum iam bellum Damasus fecit*. Although it is not clear whether these words refer to the massacre of 26 October 366 or to another one, there can be no doubt that, according to the Ursinian author, there must have been more than three outbreaks of violence (see on this Coşkun, 2003, 20 with n. 9). In 367, after Viventius' prefecture had ended, more tumult involving bloodshed was to follow (Avell. 1.12 [p. 4, 17–24]).

quae nec corrigere sufficiens Viventius nec mollire coactus vi magna secessit in suburbanum The relative pronoun is best taken to refer to the riots in general, not specifically to *discrimina*. For *sufficere* 'to have enough power to' cf. the note ad 25.2.6 *scintillas*.

Just like Lampadius, who fled to the Milvian bridge to escape the mob (section 9), Viventius leaves the city, presumably for the same reason as Lampadius had done at the time, viz. *adlenimenta ibidem tumultus opperiens*. From Amm.'s words it is not really possible to work out the chronology of the events. However, from the account of the Ursinian author it can be inferred 1. that Viventius' flight took place after the first outbreak of violence and 2. that when the prefect had returned to the city, he sided with Damasus, as did the *praefectus annonae* Iulianus (PLRE I, Iulianus 16; cf. Lizzi Testa, 2004, 151 with n. 197), for it is said that, after the attack of the Damasians on the *basilica Iuli* (Avell. 1.5 [p. 2, 25–28], cited above) and Damasus' subsequent consecration as bishop, both Viventius and Iulianus had been bribed by Damasus to exile his rival Ursinus and the deacons Amantius and Lupus: (Damasus) *post dies septem cum omnibus periuris et arenariis, quos ingenti corrumpit pretio, Lateranensem basilicam tenuit et ibi ordinatus episcopus et redimens iudicem urbis Viventium et praefectum annonae Iulianum id egit, ut Ursinus... cum Amantio et Lupo diaconibus in exilium mitteretur* (Avell. 1.6 [p. 2, 28–3, 5]). The same author also hints at Viventius' cooperation with Damasus when he speaks of seven

presbyters held in custody *per officium* (*ibid.* [p. 3, 8]; for the role of the urban *officium* and its *apparitores* in keeping order see Sinnigen, 1957, 94–100 and cf. 15.7.2, quoted ad 27.3.10 *apparitores*).

How to interpret Viventius' withdrawal to his *suburbanum*? Did he adopt “the policy of the Emperor, who declined on principle to interfere in the internal affairs of the Church” (Alföldi, 1952, 80)? Not likely. It was the main task of an urban prefect to vouch for law and order in the city (Chastagnol, 1960, 264 et seq.) and, moreover, Viventius did interfere in the affairs of the church by choosing Damasus' side and exiling Ursinus. Was he, then, simply taken by surprise, as Amm. seems to suggest? Or was, what at first sight might seem an inglorious flight by a man who was unable to cope with the situation, in reality part of a clever strategy, *reculer pour mieux sauter*? Did Viventius want to take action only after it had become clear which of the contestants for the papal throne would be the winner (cf. Errington, 2006, 117–118, 191–192)? We do not really know, but there seems to be no cogent reason to reject Amm.'s statement that the urban prefect was *coactus vi magna* and at any rate, Viventius apparently was not blamed by the emperor for his handling of the conflict, for he continued his career and in 368 was appointed *praefectus praetorio Galliarum* (references in the *PLRE*).

et in concertatione superaverat Damasus parte, quae ei favebat, instante After reporting Viventius' withdrawal Amm. returns to the warring factions. *Et* introduces the important detail that it was Damasus who had been victorious. As was pointed out in the note ad 21.11.3, Amm. uses *concertatio* only twice in its classical meaning ‘dispute’ and eleven times in the meaning ‘battle’ as here. For *instare* used absolutely (‘to apply oneself urgently’) see the note ad 27.3.3 *quo instante*. In this and the preceding section Amm. stresses the fanaticism of the supporters of Damasus and Ursinus.

3.13

constatque in basilica Sicinini, ubi ritus Christiani est conventiculum, uno die centum triginta septem reperta cadavera peremptorum The same expression occurs in 15.5.31 *conventiculum ritus Christiani*; in 26.3.3 (q.v.) Amm. writes *ritus Christiani sacrarium*. It is often assumed that Amm. hints at the event which in the Ursinian document is described as the third outburst of violence (*Avell.* 1.7 [p. 3, 10–21], cited above, ad § 12 *ad usque mortis*). In itself this is a reasonable supposition. In the Ursinian document the third outburst is the most vehement of them all, and it is

quite feasible that Amm., looking for an example to illustrate the strife of Damasus and Ursinus, chose the most spectacular incident he could find. However, some objections can be raised. In the first place, Amm. speaks of the basilica Sicinini, while the Ursinian author locates the massacre in the basilica Liberii. Secondly, the number of victims in Amm.'s account is 137, while in the source hostile to Damasus it is 160 plus x (160 men and women instantly killed and a great many wounded who died later).

Some scholars explain these differences away, arguing that the *basilica Sicinini* and the *basilica Liberii* were identical (e.g. Künzle, 1961, 139; Lizzi Testa, 2004, 153–154) and that the number of victims is more or less the same (e.g. Pietri, 1976, 412 n. 2). Others attach more importance to the discrepancy between Amm.'s text and *Avell.* 1.7 [p. 3, 10–21] and consequently assume that these passages do not refer to the same event (so e.g. Lippold, 1965, 122–125). Still others reach the same conclusion (e.g. Chastagnol, 1960, 152–153; Neri, 1985, 195 ff.), but on different grounds. These scholars believe that Amm.'s *basilica Sicinini* should be identified, not with the *basilica Liberii* of *Avell.* 1.6 (p. 3, 10), but with the *basilica Iuli* of *Avell.* 1.5 (p. 2, 27) and that Amm. refers, not to the third, but to the first outbreak of violence mentioned by the Ursinian author (*Avell.* 1.5 [p. 2, 25–28], cited above, ad § 12 *ad usque*). It will be clear that it is of crucial importance to know what precisely is denoted by *basilica Sicinini*. This *basilica* is also mentioned in the pro-Damasus sources. It was there (*in basilica quae Sicinini apellatur*), according to Rufinus (*hist.* 11.10), that Ursinus was ordained bishop, an event which triggered off a wave of violence (*quo ex facto tanta seditio immo vero tanta bella coorta sunt... ut replerentur humano sanguine orationum loca*). Socrates, who in general follows Rufinus, refers as follows to the place where Ursinus was ordained: οὐκ ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀποκρύφῳ τόπῳ τῆς βασιλικῆς τῆς ἐπικαλουμένης Σικίνης (*HE* 4.29.4), while Jerome in *Chron.* a. 366 says: *Ursinus a quibusdam episcopus constitutus Sicininum cum suis invadit, quo Damasianae partis populo confluyente crudelissimae interfectiones diversi sexus perpetratae*. It is not known where the *basilica Sicinini* was located (its identification with the church which later became known as the S. Maria Maggiore is therefore futile) and its name gives rise to a number of questions. Does the proper name in the genitive designate a person (“the basilica of Sicinius”, Rolfe) and, if so, does this then mean that the expression *basilica Sicinini* is to be put on a par with *basilica Iuli* in *Avell.* 1.5 (p. 2, 20–21) and *basilica(m) Liberii* in *Avell.* 1.6 (p. 3, 10)? The latter supposition is

not likely, for the *basilica Iuli* and the *basilica Liberii* were named after famous Roman bishops and no bishop of the name Sicininus is known (nor a saint, for that matter, nor anyone else). The name occurs, apart from the texts already cited, only three times: in *CIL* 6.37111 ([*T*]erentius *tab(ernarius) de Sicinino*); *Lib. pontif.* p. 48, 15 (*in Sicinini regione*) and *Lib. pontif.* p. 97, 26 (*domus Claudii in Sicininum*); see Lippold, 1965, 123–124 and Lega, 1999. (It is better not to take into account the title of *Avell.* 6 [p. 49.1], “ubi redditur basilica Sicinini”, for it is presumably a later addition). In all probability, in these cases *Sicininum* is neuter (cf. Jerome’s words *Sicininum cum suis invadit* [*Chron.* a. 366]) and apparently used as a place designation. This would also suit the present text. Cf. Seyfarth’s rendering, the “Basilika von Sicininum”.

A related problem is the meaning of the word *basilica*. Reasoning by means of analogy with *basilica Iuli* and *basilica Liberii* would make the *basilica Sicinini* into a Christian basilican church, which, as already stated, is unlikely. It seems better to follow the suggestion of Coşkun and take *basilica*, a hapax in Amm., in its classical sense of public building which served as business hall and the like, as in e.g. *basilica(m) Pauli* (Tac. *Ann.* 3.72.1) and *basilica Traiani* (HA *C* 2.1). Note in this respect Amm.’s circumspect wording *ubi ritus Christiani est conventiculum* (“darunter ist kaum eine Großkirche zu verstehen. die mit dem *terminus technicus* ‘Basilika’ bezeichnet werden könnte”, Coşkun, 2003, 25) and Socrates’ explicit statement that the place where Ursinus was ordained was ‘not a church’ (οὐκ ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ). Of course, the problem as regards the genitive remains in this interpretation as well, for in parallels such as *basilica Pauli* and *basilica Traiani* well known persons are referred to, while a person called Sicininus is unknown. It would have been different, if the reading were *basilica Sicinii* instead of – *Sicinini*, for the Roman hero (L.) Sicinius (Dentatus) occurs twice in Amm., in 25.3.13 and 27.10.16. As it stands now, we can only speculate about the origin of the name *basilica Sicinini* and we must come to the conclusion that Amm. refers to some public building in a region of Rome which was called *Sicininum*.

If the interpretation given here of *basilica Sicinini* is correct, it follows that Amm. in the present text refers neither to the first nor to the third outbreak of violence mentioned in the Ursinian document, but to another incident.

effēratamque diu plebem aegre postea delenitam For *effērat* see the note ad 22.11.5 and cf. 27.4.9, where it is used of the savage tribe of the

Odrysaē *e quibus praeter alios ut immaniter efferati timebantur Odrysaē*. It took the wisdom and authority of Praetextatus to restore peace and quiet among the warring factions, 27.9.9 *cuius auctoritate iustisque veritatis suffragiis tumultu lenito, quem Christianorum iurgia concitarunt, pulsoque Ursino alta quies est parata* (q.v.).

3.14 *Neque ego abnuo ostentationem rerum considerans urbanarum huius rei cupidos ob impetrandum, quod appetunt, omni contentione laterum iurgare debere* This is a traditional opening phrase for a personal statement, cf. Liv. 9.17.5 *Iam primum, ut ordiar ab ducibus comparandis, haud equidem abnuo egregium ducem fuisse Alexandrum*; Tac. *Hist.* 1.1.3 *Dignitatem nostram a Vespasiano inchoatam, a Tito auctam, a Domitiano longius provectam non abnuerim*; Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 20.13 *neque ego abnuo ea delictorum, quae grassari immodice coeperint, plus paene quam severe excidenda esse*. Normally this is followed by a contrasting sentence. Amm. does not make the contrast explicit, but it is unmistakably there in the next section.

The gen. dependent on *ostentatio* is normally objective, e.g. 16.12.68 *Interque exaggerationem inanum laudum ostentationemque aperte lucentium* (“a vain parade of facts which were obvious”, tr. Hamilton). Here Amm. means the ostentatious display of wealth ‘that is typical of life in Rome’. For this use of *res Romanae* cf. the concluding words of Amm.’s second digression on life and manners in Rome: *Sit satis interim haec digressisse super rebus urbanis* (28.4.35). The two digressions in 14.6 and 28.4 may serve as splendidly written illustrations of what the author means by the *ostentatio* of the Roman aristocracy.

Amm. sardonically admits his complete understanding of the motives of those contending for the See of Rome (*huius rei*), using the Ciceronian expression *contentione laterum*, ‘with an effort of the lungs’, i.e. ‘at the top of one’s voice’; cf. *Fam.* 12.7.1 *dixi de te quae potui, tanta contentione quanta meorum laterum est*. The verb *iurgare* here has its general meaning of ‘to quarrel’; TLL VII 2.668.12–30.

One is reminded of the famous remark of Praetextatus, who was urban prefect after Viventius and much admired by Amm., as reported by Jerome, former secretary to Damasus: *c. Ioh. 8 miserabilis Praetextatus, qui designatus consul est mortuus, homo sacrilegus et idolorum cultor, solebat ludens beato papae Damaso dicere: Facite me Romanae urbis episcopum et ero protinus christianus*.

cum id adepti futuri sint ita securi, ut ditentur oblationibus matronarum procedantque vehiculis insidentes circumspecte vestiti epulas curantes profusas adeo, ut

eorum convivia regales superent mensas “Insanum bene ad Ammiani mentem Hieronymus ad Eustochium Epist. 22” was Lindenbrog’s comment here, and indeed, the similarity between Amm.’s words and Jerome’s repeated attacks on members of the Roman clergy is striking. Compare the following passage (epist. 22.28): *Quidam in hoc omne studium vitamque posuerunt ut matronarum nomina, domos moresque cognoscant. E quibus unum qui huius artis est princeps breviter strictimque describam, quo facilius magistro cognito discipulos recognoscas. Cum sole festinus exsurgit; salutandi ei ordo disponitur; viarum compendia requiruntur, et paene usque ad cubilia dormientium senex inportunus ingreditur* (‘he jumps out of bed at day-break, the order of his morning calls is established, the shortest route is looked up and the troublesome old man almost enters their bedrooms while they are still asleep’). Rufinus even accused Jerome of having played into the hands of the adversaries of Christ in his *libellus de conservanda virginitate*, as he calls epist. 22: *Libellum quendam de conservanda virginitate Romae positus scripsit, quem libellum omnes pagani et inimici dei, apostatae persecutores et quicumque sunt, qui christianum nomen odio habent, certatim sibi describebant* (apol. adv. Hier. 2.5). In Avell. 1.9 (p. 4, 5) Damasus himself is nicknamed by his enemies *auriscalpius matronarum*, ‘the ladies’ ear-pick’, probably on account of the confidences he whispered into the ears of his lady friends. In his letter to Nepotianus Jerome warns against accepting gifts, epist. 52.5 *munuscula et orariola et fasciolas et vestes ori adplicatas et degustatos cibos blandasque et dulces litterulas sanctus amor non habet* (‘sacred love does not know little presents such as handkerchiefs, ribbons, napkins covering the mouth and choice dainties or charming and sweet notes’). In the same letter he has this to say about the kind of guests Nepotianus should invite or bar from his table: 52.5 *mensulam tuam pauperes et peregrini et cum illis Christus conviva noverit; negotiatorem clericum et ex inope divitem et ex ignobili gloriosum quasi quandam pestem fuge* (‘let your simple table have poor people and foreigners and with them Christ as your guest, shun like the plague the businessman-priest, the parvenu and the nobody who has become famous’). In the next section (52.6) Jerome refers to a law which he deems relevant for the topic under discussion: *nec de lege conqueror, sed doleo, cur meruerimus hanc legem*. The law in question is Cod. Theod. 16.2.20, addressed by the emperors to pope Damasus and read in the churches of Rome on 30 July 370. It stipulates inter alia that ecclesiastics and ex-ecclesiastics *nihil de eius mulieris, cui se privatim sub praetextu religionis adiunxerint, liberalitate quacumque vel extremo iudicio possint adipisci* “ought not obtain anything through whatever act of liberality or by a last will of those women to whom they have attached

themselves privately under the pretext of religion”, tr. Pharr, adapted). For further information see Kelly, 1975, 108–109. It should be noted that Amm.’s criticisms are not levelled exclusively at the Christians. In his Roman digressions the aristocracy as a whole is chided for their love of luxury coaches, ostentatious clothes (14.6.9) and extravagant banquets (14.6.16; 28.4.13). Similar complaints are uttered by Christian authors with respect to the clergy. Cf. e.g. Sulp. Sev. *dial.* 1.21.4 *qui antea pedibus aut asello ire consuerat, spumantibus equis superbus invehitur... vestem respuit grossiorem, indumentum molle desiderat* and Pomer. 2.4.3 *defluentibus in talos vestimentis incedunt* (‘they proceed in garments which flow down to their ankles’). Ambr. *Off.* 1.19.83 recommends simple, not luxurious and shining clothes: *non pretiosis et albetibus... vestimentis, sed communibus*. More examples in Trichet, 1986, 26–29.

The noun *oblatio* is found for the first time in Apuleius, who uses it as a nomen actionis: *Met.* 5.22 *sed cum primum luminis oblatione tori secreta claruerunt*, “but as soon as the light was presented and the secret of their bed became plain” (tr. Kenney). After Apuleius *oblatio* becomes a Christian t.t. ‘offering’, ‘gift’; see TLL IX 2.74 .3 “*imprimis in script. sacris et ap. eccles.*”, Waszink ad Tert. *anim.* 52.2 and for its liturgical use Mohrmann, 1965, 366–370. Cf. August. *retract.* 2.21 *ita ex oblationibus religiosorum vivere volebant; catech. rud.* 23 *praecipiebat, ut... oblationes facerent in pauperes sanctorum*; Possid. *vita Aug.* 23 *ex oblationibus fidelium*. For *procedere* ‘to appear in public’ cf. 20.4.19 *nec diadema gestavit nec procedere ausus est usquam nec agere seria, quae nimis urgebant* (q.v.). The adverb *circumspecte* normally means ‘cautiously’, ‘carefully’, as in Gel. 9.10.6 *cum... satis circumspecte factos esse versus dixisset: ‘membra’ tamen inquit paulo incautius nominavit*, “observing that the lines were composed with due circumspection, he added ‘he nevertheless was somewhat indiscreet in using the word *membra*’” (tr. Rolfe). In the present passage *circumspecte* must mean ‘ostentatiously’, possibly as a calque of *περίβλεπτος*, as Wagner suggests. Still, it would be rash to call this a Grecism, since, as Wagner himself notes, Amm. probably had in mind Gellius’ portrait of the dandy Hortensius: 1.5.2: *circumspecte compositeque indutus et amictus*, “he arranged the folds of his toga with great care and exactness” (tr. Rolfe).

- 3.15 *qui esse poterant beati re vera, si magnitudine urbis despecta, quam vitis opponunt, ad imitationem antistitum quorundam provincialium viverent* For the indic. of *posse* in the apodosis of an irrealis cf. 17.7.8 *et superesse potuit... pars maior, ni palantes abrupti flammaram ardores... exussissent*; see De Jonge ad 14.3.2

and Szantyr 327–328. Sabbah 204 rightly sees irony in *beati re vera*, since in Amm.’s days *beatus* and its derivatives were standard epithets for bishops; cf. e.g. Hier. *c. Ioh.* 8, quoted above ad §14 *Neque ego abnuo; Avell.* 22 (p. 69, 20) *beatitudo tua ad urbem venerabilem congrua veneratione festinet* (to bishop Achilleus of Spoleto); August. *serm.* 322 *rogo, domine beatissime papa Augustine*. For *opponere* in the sense of “to plead in justification” (OLD 7b) cf. Cic. *Agr.* 2.25 *fore uti...vitiis omnibus et sceleribus legis Cn. Pompei praesidium opponendum putetis*; TLL IX 2.771.68–77. As Neri, 1985, 217 observed, the greatness of Rome, used by the bishops as an excuse for their life of luxury, was also used as an argument by Roman *diaconi* to be given equal status to *presbyteri*: Ambrosiast. *quaest.* 101.4 *quia Romanae ecclesiae ministri sunt, idcirco honorabiliores putantur quam apud ceteras ecclesias propter magnificentiam urbis Romae, quae caput esse videtur omnium civitatum*.

tenuitas edendi potandique parcissime, vilitas etiam indumentorum et supercilia humum spectantia Marié n. 184 aptly quotes Sulp. Sev. *Mart.* 10.1–2 and 26.2 about the frugality of Saint Martin of Tours. In *Ep.* 79 the emperor Julian tells about Pegasius, who dressed in rags in order to pass for a devout Christian: τὰ ῥάκια ταῦτα περιαμπέσχετο καὶ τὴν ἁσέβειαν μέχρις ὀνόματος ὑπεκρίνατο.

The collocation of *tenuitas* in the sense of ‘frugality’ and *parcissime* makes it practically certain that the first part of the tricolon is modelled upon Gel. 2.24.1 *Parsimonia apud veteres Romanos et victus atque cenarum tenuitas*. This suggests that the contrast between the luxurious style of living of the Roman bishop and the austerity of his provincial colleagues, also echoes the simplicity of the ancient Romans, as in Amm.’s verdict on the Roman aristocracy in 14.6.10 *ignorantes profecto maiores suos, per quos ita magnitudo Romana porrigitur, non divitiis eluxisse, sed per bella saevissima nec opibus nec uictu nec indumentorum vilitate gregariis militibus discrepantes opposita cuncta superasse virtute*. Note the phrases *magnitudo urbis*, c.q. *Romana* and *vilitas indumentorum* in both passages. For downcast eyes as a mark of *verecundia* and *humilitas* Neri, 1985, 214 n. 68 quotes a wealth of examples from Greek authors, e.g. Bas. *ep.* 2.6 Ἐπεται δὲ τῷ ταπεινῷ καὶ καταβεβλημένῳ φρονήματι ὅμμα στυγνὸν καὶ εἰς γῆν νενευκός, σχῆμα ἡμελημένον, κόμη ἀύχμηρά, ἐσθῆς ῥυπῶσα (‘a humble and modest disposition goes with a gloomy and downcast look, an unkempt appearance, squalid hair and slovenly clothes’). From Latin sources may be added Ov. *Fast.* 1.147–148 *sumpsi animum, gratesque deo non territus egi, verbaque sum spectans plura locutus humum* (‘I plucked up

courage, thanked the god composedly, and with eyes turned to the ground I spoke in few", tr. Frazer); Sen. *Ep.* 11.7 *artifices scaenici... hoc indicio imitantur verecundiam: deiciunt enim vultum, verba submittunt, figunt in terram oculos et deprimunt*; Tert. *patient.* 15 *oculi humilitate, non infelicitate deiectioni*; August. *serm.* 36 *domine, inquit, tundens pectus, oculos deiciens in terram, propitius esto mihi peccatori*. The opposite is expressed in Amm. 20.1.2 *sed supercilia erigentem ut cornua* (q.v.) and Ambr. *Noe* 15.54 *sunt enim huiusmodi erigentes supercilia, inflato corde, elato pectore, cervice resupina*.

perpetuo numini verisque eius cultoribus ut puros commendant et verecundos The phrase *perpetuum numen* is also found in 29.2.20. In 17.13.28, 23.5.19 (q.v.) and 31.10.18 Amm. speaks of *numen sempiternum*. The question has often been asked to whom the words *perpetuum numen* and *veri eius cultores* refer; see Neri, 1985, 227 for a survey of the different views. As has been noted ad 25.8.3, Amm. uses *numen* in a henotheistic way, which makes it a priori unlikely that the term *numen* is used in an exclusive partisan sense. Since it is hardly conceivable that Amm. did not count himself among the true worshippers of the godhead, a pagan interpretation must be admitted. On the other hand, in 21.2.5 we are told that Julian went to the church in Vienne to celebrate Epiphany and that he left the church 'after joining in the regular worship of the godhead' *ecclesiam sollemniter numine orato discessit*, where *numen* is used in a specifically Christian context. We must conclude that Amm. expresses himself here with studied ambiguity. As Momigliano, 1963, 95 put it in one succinct phrase: "According to him what matters is *virtus*, not paganism or Christianity."

For *commendare* with inanimate subject cf. 22.7.9 *Haec eum curantem et talia commendabat externis nationibus fama ut fortitudine, sobrietate, militaris rei scientia virtutumque omnium incrementis excelsum* with the note. As Hertz, 1874, 284 noted the collocation of *purus* and *verecundus* is probably borrowed from Gel. 1.24.4 *epigramma Pacuvii verecundissimum et purissimum*.

his ita digestis pedem referamus ad coepta For introductions and conclusions to digressions in Amm. see Emmett, 1981.

CHAPTER 4

Introduction

In Chapter 4 Ammianus concentrates on the events in the East, which had been allotted to Valens when he and his brother Valentinian decided to divide the empire between them. Valens sets out to punish the Goths for their support of the *tyrannus* Procopius. Before describing his campaigns, Ammianus gives a description of Thrace, where the operations will take place (section 1).

The digression is in four parts. In sections 2–9 Ammianus treats *origo* and *situs* of the Thracian regions, a difficult subject, he warns his readers, because the sources contradict each other to such a degree that he is obliged to base his account on his own observations. Regrettably, the digression falls short of the expectations aroused by this announcement. Instead of an eyewitness account the reader is presented with a bookish description based on a few meagre sources, of which the near contemporary Rufius Festus is by far the most important. The discussion of the geography of Thrace in sections 3–8 is interrupted by section 4, in which the Scordisci are singled out as a nation of exceptional ferocity. They were fearsome opponents, whom it took the Romans a long time and many losses to overcome. Just as he had done in his digression on the Black Sea and its surrounding areas in 22.8, Ammianus enlivens his geographical description by adding interesting bits of information, e.g. on the tomb of Euripides and the birthplace of Aristotle. In section 9 he returns to the warlike spirit of the inhabitants of Thrace, this time exemplified by the Odrysians, who when there are no enemies present, turn against each other in order to satisfy their pugnacity.

In the second part of the digression (§ 10–11) the author recounts the battles fought by the Romans in order to subjugate the ferocious tribes of Thrace. Here Ammianus follows the succinct account by Festus closely, at times even literally.

The third part consists of sections 12 and 13, in which Ammianus enumerates the six provinces which make up the Thracian diocese, and lists the most important cities in each of them. The description

ends with the town of Aenus, from which Aeneas set out on his voyage to Italy in order to found the Eternal City of Rome.

The fourth part (§ 14) is only loosely attached to the rest of the digression. In it Ammianus tries to explain the reasons why the Thracians are healthier and live longer than the Romans. In this beautifully written passage the author argues that the Thracians owe this privilege to their frugal way of life. Living as they do high up on the ranges of mount Haemus or Rhodope, they are content with simple food, abstain from hot baths and are invigorated by the fresh water, the clean air and the pure rays of the sun on the mountain peaks.

- 4.1 *Dum aguntur ante dicta per Gallias et Italiam, novi per Thracias exciti sunt procinctus* Amm. has an idiosyncratic predilection for adjectival or substantivized *ante dictus*, which in other authors is quite rare, contrary to the very common phrase *ut dictum est*. Some examples: 20.1.3 *dux ante dictus*, 21.12.18 *casibus ante dictis*, 23.6.71 *Ante dictis continui sunt Drangiani*, 26.5.2 *iudicio principis ante dicti*. The events have been described in chapters 1–2 and 3, respectively. As a rule Amm. uses the plural *Thraciae* for the diocese, of which *Thracia* in the narrower sense was one of the six provinces; see the note ad 20.8.1. For the rare expression *excire bellum*, c.q. *procinctum* cf. Liv. 2.42.3 *eo infestior facta plebes seditione domestica bellum externum excivit*; TLL V 2.1247.42–59. There is a note on *procinctus* ‘battle’ ad 20.1.3.

Valens enim, ut consulto placuerat fratri, cuius regebatur arbitrio, arma concussit in Gothos The description of Valens’ campaign starts in 27.5.2: *in eos signa commovit*. Amm. repeatedly stresses the subordinate position of Valens vis-à-vis his brother Valentinian, summed up in 26.4.3 *participem quidem legitimum potestatis, sed in modum apparitoris morigerum* (q.v.). Even for a fully justified military operation in his own half of the Empire Valens asked Valentinian’s approval. For *arma concutere* ‘to brandish weapons’ cf. 31.13.1 *Cumque arma ex latere omni concuterentur et tela*. It is a poeticism: Ov. *Met.* 12.468 *armaque concussit certumque equitavit in orbem*; Sen. *Tro.* 683–684 *arma concussit manu, / iaculatur ignes*.

ratione iusta permotus, quod auxilia misere Procopio civilia bella coeptanti As reported in 26.10.3 *Gothorum tria milia...ad auxilium transmissa Procopio* (q.v.). Once more, in keeping with the general purport of Book 26, Amm. emphasizes the illegitimacy of Procopius’ coup by calling it the starting point of a civil war, which consequently justified his retaliation

against the Goths. This is stressed again in 27.5.1, where it is said that the *magister equitum* Victor was sent to the Goths *cogniturus aperte, quam ob causam gens amica Romanis foederibusque longae pacis obstricta tyranno dederat adminicula bellum principibus legitimis inferenti*.

ergo conveniet pauca super harum origine regionum et situ transcurrere per brevem excessum Cf. 22.9.6 *pauca...in actibus Commodi principis digessimus per excessum*; 23.6.1 *ut in excessu celeri*. For the set phrases which Amm. uses to open and conclude digressions see Emmett, 1981, 19–20. He is aware of the need to keep digressions within bounds, as Lucian had prescribed in *hist. conscr.* 57 *μάλιστα δὲ σωφρονητέον ἐν ταῖς τῶν ὄρων ἢ τευχῶν ἢ ποταμῶν ἐρμηνείαις* (“You need special discretion in the descriptions of mountains, fortifications and rivers”, tr. Kilburn). The combination of *origo* and *situs* in geographical digressions is traditional, cf. 29.5.18 (Caesarea) *cuius iidem originem in Africae situ digessimus* and Norden, 1998³, 451–454. It is found several times in Pomp. Trog. *prol.*, e.g. 1, p. 305 *Hic in excessu dicti Aeolicarum et Ionicarum urbium situs originesque Lydorum et in Italia Tuscorum*, where, as one would expect, *situs* refers to the cities and *origines* to the nations. For *transcurrere* ‘to touch upon’ cf. 14.11.29 *cuius rei cum innumera sint exempla, pauca tactu summo transcurram*.

While Amm. had given a description of the Pass of Succus and its surroundings in 21.10.3–4 and a digression *super Thraciarum extimis situque Pontici sinus* in 22.8, he now turns to the main part of Thrace.

Erat Thraciarum descriptio facilis, si veteres concinerent stili Amm. is less lucky here than when he had to summarize the history and geography of Gaul in 15.9 (*Galliarum tractus et situm*, § 1). There too, the *scriptores veteres* had left an unsatisfactory account of the subject (*notitiam reliquere negotii semiplenam*, § 2), but this had been rectified by Timagenes *et diligentia Graecus et lingua*. Here the author will have to fend for himself. For the indic. in the apodosis of an *irrealis* see De Jonge ad 14.3.2 and Szantyr 328–329. Amm. uses *stilus* ‘pen’ for his own writing in 29.3.1 *mihi vertenti stilum in Gallias* ‘now that I turn my pen to Gaul’. The meaning ‘style’ is predominant in 28.1.4 *cum coturnatius stilus procederet lacrimosus* (“as the sad story unfolded in high tragic style”, tr. Hamilton) as well as in 26.1.2 *cognitiones actuum variorum stilis uberibus explicatas* (q.v.) and in 31.16.9 *quos id, si libuerit, aggressuros procudere linguas ad maiores moneo stilos* (for recent discussions of the meaning of *stilus* in the sphragis see Paschoud, 2005, 117; Kelly, 2007a, 474–480 and 2007b,

225–227). In 23.6.13 *utque geographici stili formarunt* (q.v.) and here the meaning is ‘authors’.

quorum obscura varietas quoniam opus veritatem professum non iuvat, sufficiet ea, quae vidisse meminimus, expedire The conflicting statements of the ancient authorities (their *varietas*) have resulted in a deplorable lack of clarity. In the case of Gaul, Amm. could trust Timagenes, *cuius fidem secuti obscuritate dimota eadem distincte docebimus et aperte* (15.9.2). In the introduction to his digression on the Pontus Euxinus, Amm. had announced that he intended to report what he had seen himself or read in books: 22.8.1 *super Thraciarum extimis situque Pontici sinus visa vel lecta quaedam perspicua fide monstrare*. At the outset of the Persian digression the author had complained about the scarcity and unreliability of the information in the ancient sources, *in quibus aegre vera dixere paucissimi* (23.6.1, q.v.). This time the author claims that he will have to rely exclusively on his personal observations.

The proud claim *opus veritatem professum* ‘a work that has promised to tell the truth’ is literally repeated in the sphragis. As is observed in TLL X 2.1718.39–40, *profiteri* in this sense is found “saepe in initio operis, libri, capituli sim.”, which confirms the supposition of Sabbah 19 that the claim had been put forward in the lost preface to the *Res Gestae*. In his search for the truth the historian joins forces with the philosopher: 22.4.1 *ut philosophus veritatis indagandae professor*; 30.5.9 *ut philosophus veritatis professor*.

- 4.3 *has terras immensa quondam camporum placiditate aggerumque altitudine fuisse porrectas Homeri perennis auctoritas docet aquilonem et zephyrum ventos exinde flare fingentis* Apart from Var. *R.* 2.1.4 and Gel. 13.23.19 *placiditas* ‘gentleness’ is found only in Late Latin. This is the only instance in which it is used of a natural phenomenon, but cf. 22.8.20 *Haud procul inde attollitur Carambis placide collis* (q.v.). As was observed in the digression on the Succus pass ad 21.10.3 *Consertae celsorum montium summitates* Amm. shows a predilection for the gen. inversus of the type *camporum placiditas*, ‘rolling plains’ and *aggerum altitudo*, ‘high mountain ridges’ in his digressions. The emphasis in this sentence is on *immensa*, while *quondam* corresponds with *antehac* in the next sentence and contrasts with *ut nunc cernimus* in section 5. Long ago, Amm. argues, Thrace covered a much larger territory than in the present day. The reason for this opening statement is the reference to Homer’s undying authority, for which cf. 21.14.5 *sempiternis Homeri carminibus intellegi datur*. The quotation is from

Il. 9.5 Βορέης καὶ Ζέφυρος, τῷ τε Θρήκηθεν ἄητον (‘the north and the west wind, which blow from Thrace’). As we know from Strabo 1.2.20 (28C), Eratosthenes had criticized this line, since in his opinion the west wind could not be said to blow from Thrace. Strabo tried to defend the authority of the poet (as Amm. does implicitly by insisting on his *perennis auctoritas*) by saying that Thrace on its western border makes a southward turn into Chalcidice and that a westerly wind blowing from Chalcidice into the Thracian Sea could indeed be said to come from Thrace. We find an echo of this argument in Porphyry’s *Quaestiones Homericae, Ad Il.* 9.1 sqq. πῶς ἀμφοτέρους ἐκ Θράκης φησὶ πνεῖν, τοῦ μὲν Βορέου ἐξ ἄρκτου τοῦ δὲ Ζεφύρου ἐκ δύσεως πνέοντος; ῥητέον οὖν ὅτι ἡ Θρακῶν γῆ ἐπὶ πολὺ διήκει καὶ σιγματοειδὴς κεῖται τῇ θέᾳ καὶ μέχρι τῆς δύσεως, (‘What does he mean when he says that both winds blow from Thrace, since Boreas blows from the north and Zephyrus from the west? The answer must be that the land of the Thracians extends over a long distance and in the form of a sigma stretches before our eyes to the west’). Here we find the large extension of Thrace combined with observations about the shape of the land, to which Amm. will turn in section five of this chapter. Note that the final word *fingentis* anticipates *fabulosum est* in what follows next.

quod aut fabulosum est aut tractus antehac diffusi latissime destinatique nationibus feris cuncti Thraciarum vocabulo censebantur The word *fabulosus* has no derogatory meaning, but characterizes the mythological origin of the statement; see the notes ad 21.1.10 *ut fabulantur* and 23.6.53 *ut Homerus fabulosus canit*. The qualification *diffusi latissime* picks up the preceding *immensa... placiditate*, whereas *destinati... nationibus feris* introduces a new element in the description, which will be elaborated on in the next section. For *destinare* as a t.t. ‘to assign’ see De Jonge’s note ad 18.9.3 *cuius oppidi*. In the present passage the Agents of *destinati* must be Fate or History. For *censere* “to count”, “include” (OLD 7) cf. Man. 4.705 *bracchia sub Geminis censentur, pectora Cancro*; TLL III 789.76–790.27.

et partem earum habitavere Scordisci, longe nunc ab isdem provinciis disparati This is the only reference in the *Res Gestae* to the Scordisci. It is taken from Ruf. Fest. 9 *Saevissimi omnium gentium Thraces fuerunt. In Thraciae regionibus etiam Scordisci habitavunt*. Note the change of *etiam* into Amm.’s *partem earum*. According to Eadie ad loc. Festus “evidently obtained his information concerning the Scordisci from Florus” (cf. *saevissimi omnium Thracum Scordisci fuere*, Flor. *Epit.* 3.4.3), while Amm. “seems to

follow either Florus or Festus or both”. Note, however, the difference between Festus and Amm. on the one hand, and Florus on the other. In Florus’ version the Scordisci were one of the Thracian tribes. By contrast, Festus and Amm. only say that the Scordisci once lived in the area called Thrace. See also the next note concerning the fact that Amm. is closer to Festus than to Florus.

The abodes of the Scordisci changed in the course of time. According to Iust. 32.3.8 they were one of the Celtic tribes who invaded Greece in the early third century B.C. and then settled in the region where Danube and Savus come together: *Ex his manus quaedam in confluyente Danuvii et Savi consedit Scordiscosque se appellari voluit* (cf. Jovanović, 1979). Strabo 7.5.12 (318C) distinguishes two tribes, the Great Scordisci, living between the rivers Noarus (the Drina, according to Alföldy, 1964, 110; but see Papazoglu, 1978, 361–363 and Olshausen, 2000) and Margus (Morava), and the Little Scordisci, who lived on the far side of the Danube near the Triballi and the Mysi. Strabo (ibid.) speaks further of i.a. the advancement of the Scordisci towards Thrace: ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον δ’ ἡϋξήσθησαν ὥστε καὶ μέχρι τῶν Ἰλλυρικῶν καὶ τῶν Παιονικῶν καὶ Θρακίων προήλθον ὁρῶν: (“they increased to such an extent that they advanced as far as the Illyrian, Paeonian, and Thracian mountains”, tr. Jones). In the second century this expansion brought them in contact with the Romans, who after many campaigns finally subdued them (Str. 7.5.11 [318C]) at the end of the first century B.C. (more on this below, in the note ad *quorum asperitate*). From Augustus’ reign onwards the *civitas Scordischorum* had its centre in the south-eastern part of Pannonia: Ptol. 2.15.2 Κατέχουσι δὲ ταύτην τὴν ἐπαρχίαν... ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀνατολικοῖς... μεσημβρινώτεροι δὲ Σκορδίσκοι, cf. Plin. *Nat.* 3.148 and see for more details Fluss, 1921; Alföldy, 1964; Papazoglu, 1978, 271–389 and Burian, 2001.

saevi quondam et truces et, ut antiquitas docet, hostiis captivorum Bellonae litantes et Marti humanumque sanguinem in ossibus capitum cavis bibentes avidius Seyfarth rightly accepted Heraeus’ emendation *et truces et ut* for V’s *et truce-tas aut*, because the combination of *saevus* and *trux* is common (e.g. Liv. 5.2.9 *imaginem tam saevam ac truce[m]*; V. Max. 9.8. *ext. 1. apud truce[m et saevum animum Hannibalis*; Sen. *Her. F* 936–937 *Non saevi ac truces / regnent tyranni*), whereas there are no parallels for *saevi... atrocitate*, which was proposed by Petschenig. As the words *ut antiquitas docet* indicate, Amm. is following a written source here, his near contemporary (!) Rufius Festus, as he had done in the digressions on the eastern provinces

in 14.8 and Egypt in 22.16; see the note ad 22.16.24 *ut annales veteres monstrant*. In Ruf. Fest. 9 we read: *multa de saevitia praedictorum* (the Scordisci) *fabulosa memorantur, quod hostiis captivorum diis suis aliquando litaverint, quod humanum sanguinem in ossibus capitum potare sint soliti*. As Mommsen, 1881, 606 argued against Gardthausen, 1873, 26–27, the slight differences between Festus’ and Amm.’s text, such as *cavis* and *avidius*, do not prove that Amm. followed Festus’ source (Florus? see below) instead of Festus himself, but should be interpreted as deliberate variations and additions introduced by the author into his source material. Cf. Feraco, 2000, 249. The only remarkable deviation from Festus’ text is the substitution of Mars and Bellona for the unspecified *diis suis*, which is not very daring in view of the proverbial bellicosity of the Thracians; cf. e.g. Verg. *A.* 3.13–14 *terra procul vastis colitur Mavortia campis / Thraces arant*; Hor. *Carm.* 2.16.5 *bello furiosa Thrace*; Man. 4.691 *Thrace Martem sortita colonum*.

Florus also speaks of the cruelty of the Scordisci. He does so, however, when he refers to the cruelty of the Thracians in general, saying that the Scordisci were the cruellest of them all: *nihil... residuum crudelitatis fuit* (“they left no cruelty untried”, tr. Foster) *in captivos saevientibus: litare diis sanguine humano, bibere in ossibus capitum... saevissimi omnium Thracum Scordisci fuisse* (Flor. *Epit.* 3.4.2–3). For the custom of drinking out of cups made of human skulls cf. Hdt. 4.65 (about Scythians), Liv. 23.24.12 (about Boii) and Oros. *hist.* 5.23.18, who refers to the Scordisci: *inter cetera dictu audituque horrida quae in captivos agebant, raptis, cum poculo opus esset, humanorum capitum ossibus... tamquam veris poculis utebantur: quarum* (‘of these tribes’) *cruentissimi atque immanissimi Scordisci erant*.

These records of the ritual killing of prisoners of war among the Scordisci find support, as Papazoglu, 1978, 508 notes, in similar accounts of other Celts. Cf. e.g. D.S. 5.32.6 *χρῶνται δὲ καὶ τοῖς αἰχμαλώτοις ὡς ἱερεῖοις πρὸς τὰς τῶν θεῶν τιμὰς*, Luc. 1.445–446 (quoted below) and Caes. *Gal.* 6.17.3, where Caesar first reports that the Gauls particularly worship Mercury, and after him, Mars, Apollo, Jupiter and Minerva, and then says this: *Huic (= Marti), cum proelio dimicare constituerunt, ea, quae bello ceperint, plerumque devovent; cum superaverint, animalia capta immolant*. Note the ‘interpretatio Romana’ of Caesar as well as Amm. In a Gallo-Roman sanctuary in Antre near Moirans-en-Montagne in the Jura inscriptions have been found with dedications to both Mars (*CIL* 13.5343) and Bellona (*CIL* 13.5351). It is the only Gallo-Roman temple we know of where this is the case; cf. De Vries 1961, 60. Attempts have often been made to equate the deities mentioned by Roman

authors with Celtic gods, but in general this has proved unsatisfactory (cf. Chadwick, 1970, 142 ff.; Maier, 2001, 91–92). Mars, for example, has been identified with Teutates, in the wake of a scholiast on Luc. 1.445–446 (*Teutates horrensque feris altaribus Esus / et Taranis Scythicae non mitior ara Dianae*; see Getty ad loc.), but this identification is upset by a second scholiast, who identifies him with Hesus (Esus) and states that Teutates was Mercury (*Comment. Lucan.* p. 32 Usener).

quorum asperitate post multiplices pugnarum aerumnas saepe res Romana vexata postremo omnem amisit exercitum cum rectore The first encounter between Scordisci and Romans is recorded by Obseq. 16 *Dalamatae Scordisci superati* (in 156 B.C.), but the best illustration is provided by the *Periochae* of Livy's lost books: 56 *M. Cosconius praetor* (in 135 B.C.) *in Thracia cum Scordiscis prospere pugnavit*; 63 *C. Porcius cos.* (in 114 B.C.) *in Thracia male adversus Scordiscos pugnavit*; 63 *Livius Drusus cos.* (in 112 B.C.) *adversus Scordiscos... in Thracia feliciter pugnavit*; 65 *M. Minucius pro cos.* (109–106 B.C.) *adversus Thracas prospere pugnavit*. Drusus and Minucius are named by Amm. in § 10 (q.v.).

Amm. does not say which commander was responsible for the loss of his whole army. In this respect he is once again closer to Ruf. Fest. 9 (*saepe per eos Romanus est caesus exercitus*) than to the corresponding passage in Florus, who says (*Epit.* 3.4.4): *itaque non fusus modo ab his aut fugatus, sed – simile prodigio – omnino totus interceptus exercitus quem duxerat Cato* (i.e. C. Porcius Cato, consul in 114 B.C.; cf. Broughton, 1951, 533). Amm.'s *cum rectore* is puzzling and probably wrong, for neither in Florus nor in any other author who refers to Cato's defeat (Liv. *per.* 63, just quoted; D.C. 26.88.1; Eutr. 4.24) is there a hint of the consul's death on the battlefield, while we know from other sources that he was fined for extortion upon his return in Rome (Cic. *Verr.* 4.22, Vell. 2.8.1). Amm.'s *postremo* is puzzling too, for after Cato's campaign in 114 B.C. the Roman state was still troubled by the Scordisci from time to time (cf. Liv. *per.* 63 and 65, quoted above, Eutr. 5.7.1, D.C. 54.20.3). They were not subdued before the end of the first century B.C. (Vell. 2.39.3 *At Ti. Caesar... Raetiam autem et Vindelicos ac Noricos Pannoniamque et Scordiscos novas imperio nostro subiunxit provincias*).

- 4.5 *Sed, ut nunc cernimus, eadem loca formata in cornuti sideris modum effingunt theatri faciem speciosam* The opening words of the sentence contrast the present with the Homeric past as described in section 3 above. Gardthausen, 1873, 38 is therefore certainly right in saying that section 4

“den Zusammenhang in sehr unpassender Weise zerreisst, da § 5 sich unmittelbar an § 3 anschliesst.” The same scholar concluded from the comparison between the shape of Thrace and the crescent moon that Eratosthenes, whom Amm. mentions only once by name (22.8.10), was directly or indirectly his source, since this geographer had a predilection for illustrations of this type. Berger, 1880, 332–333 is more cautious in this respect, but admits that it is quite likely that these comparisons originated with Eratosthenes. As further examples he mentions inter alia the comparison of the Black Sea to a Scythian bow (cf. 22.8.10 *in speciem Scythici arcus nervo coagmentati geographiae totius assensione firmatur* with the note), Mesopotamia to a ship, the northern part of Britain to a double axe, and the Persian Gulf to a human head. The shape of Thrace is also mentioned in Porphyry’s *Quaestiones Homericae*, quoted above ad section 3 *has terras*: *σιγματοειδὴς κεῖται τῇ θέρᾳ*. The Greek sigma has the form of the crescent moon; *Et. Gud.* s.v. sigma, p. 501 *σιγματοειδὴς γὰρ ἡ σελήνη*. This again may point towards Eratosthenes as Amm.’s ultimate source, since comparisons with the letters of the Greek alphabet are found more than once in the fragments of his work: the shape of the Propontis is compared to the letter Φ, the course of the Nile to a capital N, its estuary (as well as Sicily) to a Δ. For *cornuti sideris* cf. the note ad 20.3.10 *cornulae*. The comparison to a theatre may well have been suggested by Amm.’s Greek source, since *θέα* also has the meaning “seat in the theatre” (LSJ s.v. III). In this schematic representation the mountain ranges of Haemus and Rhodope surrounding the plain of the river Hebrus form the *cavea* and the *orchestra* respectively, while the *scena* is formed by the Pontus and/or the Propontis. Ten to one that the adjective *speciosam* was added by Amm., just like *cavis* and *avidius* in the preceding section.

The verb *cernere* is used for a panoramic view in 18.6.22 *cernebamur terrarum omnes ambitus subiectos*. Still, it is evident that in the era before satellite photography descriptions of landscapes such as these can only have been the result of laborious computations. It is out of the question that any part of the information in this chapter up to this point is based on personal observation.

cuius in summitate occidentali montibus praeruptis densitatae Succorum patescunt angustiae Thracias dirimentes et Daciam In 15.10.6 *a summitate autem huius Italici clivi* the noun *summitas* is used for the Alps that form the northernmost border of Italy. Here *summitas* means ‘extremity’, as in 19.8.8 (q.v.), 22.8.7 and 22.8.20. The Succi pass has been treated in a separate

digression in 21.10.3–4 (q.v.), part of which is repeated here with slight variations. *Montibus praeruptis densatae... angustiae* is the equivalent of *celsorum montium summitates... in angustias tumultosis collibus desinentes* in the earlier digression. The form *densatae* ‘pressed together’ is a daring conjecture of the younger Valesius for V’s *densita et*, where Gelenius had suggested *densatae*. In view of Gelenius’ predilection for the verbum simplex instead of the intensivum/frequentativum, for which see Den Hengst, forthcoming, we may assume that this is based on conjecture rather than on the Hersfeldensis. The intensivum is, moreover, fully justified by 19.7.3 *densitataeque acies*. In 21.10.3 (q.v.) the names of the mountains are given: Haemus and Rhodope; cf. below *Haemimontanae celsitudines* (§ 6) and *scopuli... Rhodopes* (§ 7). Thrace and Dacia are also named: *hinc vicinae mediterraneis Dacis et Serdicae, inde Thracias despectantes et Philippopolim*.

- 4.6 *partem vero sinistram arctois obnoxiam stellis Haemimontanae celsitudines claudunt* Amm. changes his point of reference. The comparison of Thrace with a theatre implied a view from the east. Here, where the north is said to be on the left and the south on the right, the point of reference is in the west. As Hagendahl, 1921, 104 has noted, Amm. has a very rich vocabulary to design the points of the compass. For the north he uses the following expressions: 18.9.2 *unde aquiloni obnoxia est*; 22.8.11 *unde suspicit sidus arctoum*; 23.6.69 *Boreae obnoxii flatibus*; 22.15.2 *septemtrioni supposita*; 22.15.5 *in subiectis septemtrioni spatiis*. The adjective *Haemimontanus* is found only in Amm. It is evidently based on *Haemus mons*, like *Caelimontanus* on *Caelius mons*. Amm. uses it as a geographical term in 14.11.15 *cum Hadrianopolim introisset urbem Haemimontanam* and 31.8.1 *inter Haemimontanas angustias*, in section 11 of this chapter for the people living there: *Haemimontanos acriter resistentes oppressit*. For *claudere* ‘to bound’ cf. 15.10.1 *Hanc Galliarum plagam... munimina claudunt undique natura velut arte circumdata*. On the mountain ranges of Haemus and Rhodope see the note ad 21.10.3.

et Hister, qua Romanum caespitem lambit, urbibus multis et castris contiguus et castellis There is a note on *caespes* ad 20.11.25 *regiones pinguiissimi caespitis*. The author probably uses the unique expression *Romanus caespes* because of the fertility of the lands south of the Danube, which was one of the reasons why the Goths, when put to flight by the Huns, wanted to settle there: 31.3.8 (part of the people) *cogitavit Thraciae receptaculum... conveniens, quod... caespitis est feracissimi*. *Lambere* used of

a river is a poeticism, cf. Hor. *Carm.* 1.22.7–8 *vel quae loca fabulosus / lambit Hydaspes*; Stat. *Theb.* 4.51–52 *quos... / lambit...Elisson*; Claud. *Rapt.* 3.372–373 *quales ... / lambit...Orontes*. For the highly problematical *praeterlambere* see the note ad 25.10.5 *sed ad perpetuandam*. The many cities, army camps and fortresses on the south bank of the Danube are mentioned to stress the fact that this border was well defended. Cf. 14.8.13 (Arabia) *castrisque oppleta validis et castellis, quae ad repellendos gentium vicinarum excursus sollicitudo pervigil veterum per opportunos saltus erexit et cautos*; 23.6.4 (due to the vigilance of king Arsaces) *civitatum et castrorum castellorumque munimentis oppleta Perside assuefactaque timori esse accolis omnibus, quos antea formidabat*; 28.2.1 *Valentinianus...Rhenum omnem a Raetiarum exordio ad usque fretalem oceanum magnis molibus communibat castra extollens altius et castella turresque assiduas per habiles locos et opportunos*.

The most important cities in the diocese of Thrace along the Danube (see for this river, now called *Hister*, now *Danubius*, the notes ad 17.13.4 and 22.8.44) are mentioned in § 12: Dorostorus and Nicopolis (q.v.). Apart from the places cited above *castra* and *castella* are also mentioned together in 27.12.12, 30.5.15 and 30.7.6. For the difference see Veg. *mil.* 3.8.22 *a castris diminutivo vocabulo sunt nuncupata castella*. Some of these fortresses: Iatrus, Nova Cherna, Candidiana, Golesh and Dinogetia, for which see Dinchev, 2007, 485–516 (with extensive bibliographical references).

per dextrum, quod australe est, latus scopuli tenduntur Rhodopes For *tendi*, ‘to stretch’, ‘to extend’, which is rare, cf. 29.6.18 (after the Tiber flooded) *stagnantibus civitatis residuis membris, quae tenduntur in planitiem molliorem* and Sil. 3.654–655 *ad finem caeli medio tenduntur ab orbe / squalentes campi*.

4.7

unde eoum iubar exsurgit, finitur in fretum For the adjective see the note ad 14.8.4. The indication of the east is again highly poetical, cf. 22.8.11 *qua sol oceano exsurgit eoo*; similar collocations are found in Auson. *Ephem.* 3.11–12 Green (the Son) *editus ante / quam iubar et rutilus caelum inlustraret Eous*, Auson. *Prec.* 3.4 Green (to the Sun) *purpureum iubar exere lucis eoeae*. For *finire* in a geographical sense see the note ad 22.8.9 *fractum*. The *fretum* is of course the (Thracian) Bosphorus; which is rather to the south-east, but could be said to be at the easternmost point of Thrace.

cui undosius ab Euxino ponto labenti pergentique fluctibus reciprocis Aegaeum dis-cidium panditur terrarum angustum ‘To which, flowing in a great mass of water from the Black Sea and onwards with opposite currents to

the Aegean a narrow strait between the lands opens up'. Amm. does not express himself as clearly as one would wish. He might have said that for the waves of either the Black Sea or the Aegean a narrow strait opens up between the two continents; it is less logical to say this about the Bosphorus, which is itself the narrow opening. The great mass of water (*undosius* is a hapax) from the Pontus meets the waves from the Aegean. The currents in opposite directions make sailing difficult and perilous. For that reason Hor. *Carm.* 3.4.30 speaks of *insanientem...Bosporum*, 'the raging Bosphorus'. For more information on these currents see Nisbet and Rudd ad loc. Gelenius printed *ad* before *Aegaeum*, whether on the basis of the Hersfeldensis or by conjecture is unclear. He was followed by Seyfarth in his bilingual edition and Marié. As a matter of fact, *pergere* with an accusative of direction occurs only twice in the *Res Gestae*, with names of cities: 14.6.24 *impigre vel usque Spoletium pergunt* and 26.8.2 *Valens Nicomediam pergit*. In all other cases *pergere* is used absolutely, as in 21.13.8 *omniumque consensu hac probata sententia pergebant*, or with an adverb of direction as in 24.4.1 *quibus actis pergebat ulterius imperator*, or with *ad*, as in 20.4.12 *ut ad Augustum alacri gradu pergerent*, 22.9.4 *pigriore gradu pergebat ad regiam* and 23.5.8 *pergeretque ad Duram*. For this reason it seems advisable to follow Gelenius.

- 4.8 *ex angulo tamen orientali Macedonicis iungitur collimitiis per artas praecipitesque vias, quae cognominantur Acontisma* After the northern, southern and eastern border one would expect the border in the west. Instead Amm. prefers to mention the road from the eastern extremity of Thrace (*ex angulo...orientali*), i.e. the Bosphorus, to the border regions of Macedonia which lie to the west of Thrace. For *collimitium* 'border region', which is used almost exclusively by Amm., see the note ad 26.6.11 *doceatur relationibus*. Strictly speaking Acontisma is not the name of the road, but of the mountain pass and the *statio*. In 26.7.12 (q.v.) Amm. had also mentioned this border passage between Thrace and Macedonia. See for the diocese of Macedonia De Jonge ad 17.5.5 *Macedonicos fines* and 17.7.1 *per Macedoniam*.

cui proxima Arethusa cursualis est statio Haupt conjectured *cursualis* ("i. q. ad cursum publicum pertinens"; TLL IV 1528.80–88) on the basis of V's *arhetus acures vales* (rewritten in E as *Aretusa curesvales*), no doubt correctly despite the fact that this is the only occurrence of *cursualis* in Amm. Like Acontisma Macedonian Arethusa was apparently a stop of the public post on the via Egnatia; for *statio* see the note ad

26.7.5 *oppressurus*). For its location one should look near Lake Volvi (πρὸς δὲ τῇ λίμνῃ τῇ Βόλβῃ Ἀρέθουσᾶ, Str. *fr.* 16a Radt), which lies some 60 km northeast of modern Thessaloniki, but where exactly is disputed: “sans doute à l’emplacement de l’actuelle Bromiskos, ou un peu plus au nord” (Marié n. 196, following Hirschfeld, 1896, 680), “kaum identisch mit Bormiskos” (Von Bredow, 1996). Plut. *Lyc.* 31.3 (τελευτήσαντι καὶ ταφέντι τῆς Μακεδονίας περὶ Ἀρέθουσᾶν; cf. Suda E 3695.24) and Adaeus, *AP* 7.51 (ὑπαὶ Μακέτῃ δ’ Ἀρεθούσῃ κείσῃ, ‘you are buried at the foot of Macedonian Arethusa’) also state that Euripides died and was buried at Arethusa in Macedonia. Other sources are either unspecific, simply saying that his tomb was in Macedonia (Paus. 1.2.2, Plin. *Nat.* 31.28, Vit. 8.3.16), or mention another name (*Itin. Burdig.* p. 604.6–7 *mutatio Peripidis: ibi positus est Euripidis poeta*).

et Stagira, ubi Aristotelen, ut Tullius ait, fundentem aureum flumen accipimus natum In historical references of this type Amm. prefers the present tense; cf. 25.4.17 *in quem id accipimus dictum*; 26.3.5 *ut Duilium accipimus veterem... id sibi sumpsisse*; 31.13.13 *simili clade Caesarem accipimus Decium dimicantem cum barbaris acriter equi lapsu prostratum*. The reading of EAG *natum accepimus* looks like a normalisation of tense and word order. There is a statue of Aristotle in modern Stagira, but this inland town is not the ancient site of the philosopher’s birthplace, which, according to Str. *fr.* 15a Radt, was situated not far from Chalcidian Acanthus and had its own harbour (ἐν δὲ τῷ κόλπῳ πρώτη μετὰ τὸν Ἀκανθίων λιμένα Στάγειρα, ἔρημος, καὶ αὐτὴ τῶν Χαλκιδικῶν, Ἀριστοτέλους πατρίς καὶ λιμὴν αὐτῆς Κάπρος καὶ νησίον ὁμώνυμον τῷ λιμένι (“The first city on this gulf after the harbour of the Acanthians is Stageira, the native city of Aristotle, now deserted; this too belongs to the Chalcidians and so do its harbour and an isle bearing the same name as the harbour”, tr. Jones). The identification of this harbour with modern Olympias is undisputed; one should therefore look nearby for ancient Stagira. Cf. Cadoux, 1954; Zahrnt, 1971, 238–243; Papazoglu, 1988, 435–436. The reference to Cicero (*Ac.* 2.119 *flumen orationis aureum fundens Aristoteles*) is duly recorded by Rota, 1996, 20–21. See also Castillo, 2007.

haec quoque priscis temporibus loca barbari tenuere morum sermonumque varietate dissimiles By *quoque* Amm. refers to his statement in section 3, that in the past Thrace was inhabited by barbarian tribes. The same applies to the regions bordering Macedonia (*haec loca*). The expression *temporibus priscis* is deliberately vague. Usually it denotes the distant past, as in

20.6.9 (q.v.); here and in 25.9.11 *ut temporibus priscis apud Furas Caudinas sub iugum legionibus missis in Samnio* it refers to the days of the Republic (*dum consulare vigeret imperium*, § 10).

e quibus praeter alios ut immaniter efferati timebantur Odrysae For *immanis* and *efferatus* to denote the savagery of barbarians see Seager 56, who wrongly suggests that Amm. portrays the Odrysians as a present danger. In the fifth century B.C. the Thracian tribe of the Odrysae under its king Sitalces created a powerful realm, which extended from the Danube in the north to the Aegean in the south and the Black Sea in the east. In the fourth century, under Cotys I, the Odrysian kingdom reached its peak. Relations with the neighbouring Macedonians varied somewhat, but were on the whole tense during the third century. However, in the wars between Rome and Macedonia in the second century the Odrysians sided with Philippus V and Perseus. After the battle of Pydna (168 B.C.) they became Roman allies and slowly but surely lost their influence. Some literature: De Jonge's note ad 18.6.5 *Odrysarum*; Danov, 1976, 222–347; Sullivan, 1979, 189–194; Hoddinott, 1981, 119–130; Von Bredow, 2000.

ita humanum fundere sanguinem assueti, ut, cum hostium copia non daretur, ipsi inter epulas post cibi satietatem et potus suis velut alienis corporibus imprimerent ferrum Thracian drinking bouts tended to end in a brawl, cf. Hor. *Carm.* 1.27.1–2 *Natis in usum laetitiae scyphis / pugnare Thracum est*. Blood-thirstiness was also characteristic of Thracians, as witness Apul. *Met.* 7.5 *ego sum praedo famosus Haemus ille Thracius... humano sanguine nutritus*. Even the horses of the Thracian king Diomedes were fattened on human blood, Ov. *Met.* 9.194–195 *quid, cum Thracis equos humano sanguine pingues / ...vidi?* For *imprimere ferrum* cf. V. Max. 5.4. ext. 6 *paene iam impressum iugulo mucronem revocavit*; Tac. *Hist.* 1.41.3 *crebrior fama tradidit Camurium... impresso gladio iugulum eius hausisse*. *Suis* means 'of their own men'.

Verum aucta re publica dum consulare vigeret imperium In Amm. *dum* 'as long as' is regularly followed by a coni. impf., e.g. 22.9.1 *haec quoque adiciens, quod, dum teneret imperium solus, nec motibus internis est concitus* e.q.s. More examples in Ehrismann 48. The *imperium consulare* as a designation of the Republic is found also in V. Max. 6.1.1 *causam... tam animoso interitu imperium consulare pro regio permutandi populo Romano praebuit*, (Lucretia) 'by her heroic death gave the Roman people an opportunity to exchange

the rule of kings for the rule of consuls.’ In 23.6.9 the Republican period is contrasted with the Empire as follows: *sub consulibus et deinceps in potestatem Caesarum redacta re publica*.

has gentes antehac semper indomitas vagantesque sine cultu vel legibus Marcus Didius ingenti destinatione pressit With *has gentes* Amm. refers to the Scordisci (mentioned in § 4) as well as to the Odrysae and other Thracian tribes (§ 9). Amm. depicts them as nomads like the Saracens, 14.4.3 *sine lare sine sedibus fixis aut legibus*, or the Huns, 31.2.12 *Hoc expeditum indomitumque hominum genus externa praedandi aviditate flagrans*. Cic. *De orat.* 1.33 distinguishes *cultus* and *leges* as successive stages in the history of civilisation, brought to mankind by the power of speech: *quae vis alia potuit aut dispersos homines unum in locum congregare aut a fera agrestique vita ad hunc humanum cultum civilemque deducere aut iam constitutis civitatibus leges iudicia iura describere?* For *destinatio* ‘perseverance’ see the note ad 20.11.7 *atque cum*. The simplex pro composito *pressit* is highly suspect, not just on account of the *cursus*, but also, as Kellerbauer, 1873, 134 notes, because Festus, whom Amm. closely follows in this chapter, has *Marcus Didius vagantes Thracas repressit* (Ruf. Fest. 9).

4.10

As to Marcus Didius, consul in 98 B.C., Amm.’s source Ruf. Fest. 9 also gives him, wrongly, the name Marcus instead of Titus, as in Cic. *Pis.* 61 and *SEG* 3 (1927) 378.28 (cf. Broughton, 1951, 571, 573 n. 1; 1986, 81). In Florus there is no praenomen: *Didius vagos et libera populatione diffusos intra suam reppulit Thraciam* (*Epit.* 3.4.5). Didius was praetor and proconsul in Macedonia in 101–100 or 99 B.C. (Broughton, *loc. cit.*; cf. Walbank, 1985, 205–208 and Drakopoulos, 1990). Chronologically, therefore, his campaigns came after those of Drusus and Minucius, which took place in 112 and 110–106 B.C., respectively (see below). Was Amm. (and his source) unaware of this, as among others Marié n. 201 supposes (“Ammien, comme ses prédécesseurs [i.e. Florus and Festus], a commis une erreur sur l’ordre des campagnes”)? Maybe so, but there could be a plausible explanation for the origin of the error. Papazoglu, 1978, 306 quotes the sixth century historian Jordanes who speaks about the same subject matter (*ad postremum a Marco Didio et ipsi subacti et loca eorum in provinciam redacta, iugum excepit* (sic) *Romanum. nam Marcus Drusus intus eos in montibus eorum contrivit, Minucius in Ebro amne eorum multos extinxit et vicit*, *Rom.* 219), and points to the fact that Jordanes, like Florus, Festus and Amm., mentions Didius before Drusus and Minucius, but apparently considers Didius’ expedition to have been the final (*ad postremum*) operation after many heavy battles, of which he cites two

examples, using the conjunction *nam* to explain what he said in the preceding sentence. Assuming, then, that Jordanes, Amm., Festus and Florus ultimately go back to the same source, the present text must be seen as a shortened (and therefore misleading) version of this source.

Drusus intra fines continuit proprios Amm. reverses the word order of his source (Festus: *proprius continuit*) to obtain a *cursus tardus*. M. Livius Drusus was consul in 112 B.C. and fought successfully in Thrace: Liv. *per.* 63 (quoted ad § 4 *quorum asperitate*), Flor. *Epit.* 3.4.5 *Drusus ulterrimus egit* (sc. Scordiscos) *et vetuit transire Danuvium*, Ruf. Fest. 9 (Thracas) *Marcus Drusus intra fines proprios continuit*. On account of his victory he celebrated a triumph in 110 B.C. (*Fast. triumph.* a. 110). Cf. Broughton, 1951, 538, 544 and Papazoglu, 1978, 296–297.

Minucius prope amnem Hebrum a celsis Odrysarum montibus fluentem superatas proelio stravit The detail about the source of the river Hebrus in the land of the Odrysae is not in Amm.’s source Festus, but is added from 18.6.5 *prope flumen venimus Hebrum ex Odrysarum montibus decurrentem*. The same detail is mentioned in Mart. Cap. 6.656 *nam Hebrum Odrysiacae nives complent*. M. Minucius Rufus, consul in 110 B.C., campaigned as consul and proconsul in Macedonia and Thrace and celebrated a triumph over the Scordisci and other tribes in 106 B.C. (*Fast. triumph.* a. 106). The corresponding passages in Festus and Florus show that the final battle took place in winter, when the river Hebrus was frozen: *Minucius in Hebri fluminis glacie vastavit* (Ruf. Fest. 9), and: *Minucius toto vastavit Hebro, multis quidem amissis, dum per perfidum glacie flumen equitatur* (Flor. *Epit.* 3.4.5). Liv. *per.* 65 is cited ad 27.4.4 *quorum asperitate*. For more references see Broughton, 1951, 543, 546, 549, 552, 554; 1986, 144 and Papazoglu, 1978, 299–304.

post quos residui ab Appio Claudio pro consule sunt infesta concertatione deleti Papazoglu, 1978, 302–303 is certainly right when he says that *residui* “only makes sense if we understand ‘the remaining Thracians’, and not ‘the remaining Scordisci’” (cf. above, the note ad *has gentes*). Cf. Liv. *per.* 91 *Appius Claudius procos. Thracas pluribus proeliis vicit*. Ruf. Fest. 9 *Per Appium Claudium proconsulem hi qui Rhodopam incolebant victi sunt* and see for Ap. Claudius Pulcher, consul in 79 B.C. and proconsul in Macedonia in 78–76 B.C., Broughton, 1952, 82, 86, 89; 1986, 56. For *concertatio* see the note ad 27.2.6 *quibus hebetatis*.

oppida enim in Bosporo sita et Propontide classes obtinuerunt Romanae This is a perfect example of what might be called ‘occupatory’ *enim*: (I do not speak about the coastal region) ‘since, as you know’; see OLD s.v. 6. Ruf. Fest. 9 still seems to be Amm.’s source: *Europae maritimas urbes antea Romana classis obtinuit*. As Eadie ad loc. observes, in the relevant period actions by the Roman fleet in connection with the Thracian campaigns are not recorded.

advenit post hos imperator Lucullus, qui cum durissima gente Bessorum conflixit omnium primus Petschenig, 1892, 683 proposed to read *cum atrocissima gente*, which is closer to V’s *adorissima*. One has to admit that Amm. rarely uses *atrox* of people; the only instances are 14.11.32 (*fortuna dedit*) *Samnitum atrocitati Veturium* ‘fortune handed over Veturius to the savagery of the Samnites’ and 26.3.2 *unde quibusdam atrox visus est* (q.v.). For the contents cf. Ruf. Fest. 9 *Marcus Lucullus per Thracias cum Bessis primus conflixit*, Eutr. 6.10 *Alter... Lucullus, qui Macedoniam administrabat, Bessis primus Romanorum intulit bellum*. The Lucullus of the present text is M. Terentius Varro Lucullus, consul in 73 B.C., not to be confused with his famous brother L. Licinius Lucullus, mentioned by Amm. in 22.8.16 and 23.5.16. Marcus Lucullus was proconsul in Macedonia in 72–71 B.C., but may have begun his term of command already as consul (cf. Broughton, 1952, 109, 118, 646; 1986, 204; Danov, 1979, 115–116). He is termed *αὐτοκράτωρ* (= *imperator*) in a Greek inscription of Mesembria (cf. Broughton, 1986, 204). As to the Thracian Bessi (already mentioned in Hdt. 7.111), they acquired political significance through their fierce struggles with Rome in the first century B.C. If Lucullus fought against them *omnium primus*, he was followed by e.g. M. Licinius Crassus in 29 B.C. (D.C. 51.25.5) and L. Calpurnius Piso in 12–10 B.C. (D.C. 54.34.5–7; the date is disputed, cf. e.g. Danov, 1979, 127–128). It was not before the first century A.D. that their resistance was broken once and for all. Cf. Oberhummer, 1899; Tatscheva-Hitova, 1976, 52–56; Hoddinott, 1981, 130; Von Bredow, 1997.

4.11

eodemque impetu Haemimontanos acriter resistentes oppressit Compared to the accounts of Festus and other sources Amm. is rather brief. Ruf. Fest. 9 *Ipsam caput gentis Thraciam vicit, Haemimontanos subegit, Eumolpiadam quae nunc Philippopolis dicitur, Uscudamam quae modo Hadrianopolis vocatur in dicionem nostram redegit, Cabylen cepit*; Eutr. 6.10 *eos* (= Bessos) *ingenti proelio in Haemo monte superavit. Oppidum Uscudamam, quod Bessi habitabant, eodem die, quo adgressus est, vicit, Cabylen cepit*.

quo imminente Thraciae omnes in dicionem veterum transiere nostrorum hocque modo post procinctus ancipites rei publicae sex provinciae sunt quaesitae It is with casual remarks like *veteres nostri* ‘our forebears’, that Amm. shows how completely he identifies with the Romans, even those of ancient times. Cf. 14.8.13 *hanc provinciae imposito nomine rectoreque attributo obtemperare legibus nostris Traianus compulit imperator*, 19.2.6 *ubi Grumbates hastam infectam sanguine ritu patrio nostrique more coniecerat fetialis*. For *imminere* see the note ad 27.2.6 *validius imminens*.

Since Thrace only became a province under Claudius in 45–46 A.D. (the general who achieved its annexation was A. Didius Gallus; cf. Levick, 1990, 157), *quo* (i.e. Lucullo) *imminente* is rather peculiar. From a chronological point of view the rest of the sentence is peculiar too, for the situation depicted is the result of Diocletian’s administrative reorganisation at the end of the third century A.D., when out of the old provinces of Lower Moesia and Thrace six new provinces were carved which together formed the diocese of the Thraces (Jones 47). The six provinces in question, listed in § 12–13, are with one variant (*Moesia inferior* instead of *Mysia*) also mentioned in Ruf. Fest. 9 *Ita dicioni rei publicae sex Thraciarum provinciae sunt adquisitae*.

- 4.12 *Inter quas prima ex fronte, quae Illyriis est confinis, Thracia speciali nomine appellatur* After the sentence just quoted Festus also enumerates the six provinces of the diocese Thrace: *Thracia, Haemimontus, Moesia inferior, Scythia, Rhodopa, Europa*. Amm. writes *Mysia* instead of *Moesia* and reverses the order of the last two, Europa and Rhodope. For *frons* ‘border’ cf. 23.6.13 *orienti a fronte contrarius ad Gangem extenditur flumen*. For *Illyriis*, i.e. ‘incolis Illyrici’, see the note ad 21.7.1 *Illyriis*. According to the CLCLT this is the first occurrence of *speciali nomine*, the name for the *species* ‘province’ in contrast with the *generale nomen*, the name for the *genus* ‘diocese’. Augustine explains the difference as follows in *Trin.* 7.4 *cum dicimus bovem non esse equum, canem vero nec bovem esse nec equum, tria quaedam dicimus; et percontantibus quid tria non iam speciali nomine dicimus tres equos aut tres boves aut tres canes quia non eadem specie continentur, sed generali, tria animalia* “when we say that an ox is not a horse, but that a dog is neither an ox nor a horse, we speak of a three; and if any one questions us what three, we do not speak now by a specific name of three horses, or three oxen, or three dogs, because the three are not contained under the same species, but by a generic name, three animals” (tr. West Haddan).

quam Philippopolis, Eumolpias vetus, et Beroea amplae civitates exornant For Philippopolis (Talbert 22 B6), modern Plovdiv, formerly Eumolpias (cf. 22.2.2, q.v., and Ruf. Fest. 9, quoted ad § 11 *eodemque*), see the notes ad 21.10.3 *vicinae* and 26.10.4 *degressus*, where it is suggested that Amm. sometimes mentions both the old and the new name of a city to help his readers in distinguishing these cities from others with the same name. Cf. further Velkov, 1977, 126–131 and Von Bredow, 2000, 796–797.

Beroea (Talbert 22 C6), the present Stara Zagora, was, like Philippopolis, founded in pre-Roman times but refounded in the second century A.D. and officially known as Augusta Traiana (cf. e.g. *AE* 1933, 90). In Late Antiquity the city was commonly called Beroea again, as in 31.9.1, 31.11.2 and Soz. *HE* 4.11.3, about the exile of pope Liberius (for which see the note ad 27.3.12 Damasus) εἰς Βεροίην τῆς Θράκης. Some literature: Oberhammer, 1899; Velkov, 1977, 128–129 and *passim*; Boteva, 1992; Von Bredow and Wirbelauer, 1997.

post hanc Haemimontus Adrianopolim habet, quae dicebatur Uscudama, et Anchialon civitates magnas In 14.11.15 Amm. had also mentioned the old Thracian name of Adrianople (Talbert 51 H1), modern Edirne: *cum Adrianopolim introisset urbem Haemimontanam, Uscudamam antehac appellatam*. See the extensive note of De Jonge (add to the literature Wirbelauer, 1998) and cf. Ruf. Fest. 9 and Eutr. 6.10 (quoted ad § 11 *eodemque*). Yet another name was Orestias or Oresta, which is found in Zon. 17.23 and in the HA (*Hel.* 7.6–8) with the ominous addition *quam saepe cruentari hominum sanguine necesse est*. This may refer to the battle fought by Licinius and Maximinus Daia in 313, the victory of Constantine over Licinius in 324, or even the defeat of Valens in 378. For Anchialos (Talbert 22 E6), modern Pomorie, see the note ad 22.8.43 *Tomi*. Cf. further e.g. Velkov, 1977, 196 and *passim*; Gjuzelev, 1992 and Soustal, 1992, 60–61.

dein Mysia, ubi Marcianopolis est, a sorore Traiani principis ita cognominata Only here does Amm. write *Mysia* instead of *Moesia*, as in 16.10.20 (q.v.), 17.12.1, 17.13.20, 29.6.15 and 31.8.4. In the corresponding passage of Festus we find *Moesia inferior* (and e.g. in *Not. Dign. Or.* 2.57 and 26.7, 14 *Moesia secunda*), which is more precise than Amm.'s *Mysia*, for there were two provinces called *Moesia* (as is clear from e.g. 17.12.1 *Moesiarumque alteram*). *Moesia superior* or *prima* belonged to the *dioecesis Moesiarum*, later – *Daciarum* (cf. Eadie, 1967, 161–162 and Jones 1456). Galenus *de sanitate tuenda* 6 p. 334.8 (Kühn) distinguishes between the European and

the Asian Μυσία: οὐκ ἐκ τῆς παρὰ τὸν Ἰστρον Μυσίας, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλησποντίας ὀνομαζομένης. According to Strabo the Mysians of Asia are descended from the Thracian Mysians, who were later called Moesians: 7.3.2 (295C) οἱ Μυσοὶ, Θράκες ὄντες καὶ αὐτοὶ, οὓς νῦν Μοισοὺς καλοῦσιν, ἀφ' ὧν ὥρμήθησαν καὶ οἱ νῦν μεταξὺ Λυδῶν καὶ Φρυγῶν καὶ Τρώων οἰκοῦντες Μυσοί.

This is one of the fifteen references to Trajan in Amm. (cf. the note ad 23.5.17 *Traianus*). The (fictional) reason why Marcianopolis (Talbert 22 E5), the present Devnĭja, was built and named after Trajan's beloved sister Ulpia Marciana (PIR¹ V 584; Kienast, 1996², 125–126) is given in Iord. *Get.* 93 (where the emperor's sister is called Marcia; according to Mommsen ad loc. Jordanes used one of Amm.'s lost books as his source): *nam urbem Traianus imperator hac re, ut fertur, aedificavit, eo quod Marcia soror sua puella, dum lavaretur flumine illo quod... in media urbe oritur Potami cognomento, exindeque vellet aquam haurire, casu vas aureum quod ferebat in profundum decedit, metalli pondere praegravatum, longeque post ab imis emersit: ... his Traianus sub admiratione compertis fontique numinis quiddam inesse credens, conditam civitatem germanae suae in nomine Marcianopolim nuncupavit.* Marcianopolis, ἡ μεγίστη τῶν ἐν Θράκῃ πόλεων ἐστὶ (Zos. 4.10.3; cf. Iord. *Get.* 92 *Marcianopolim eiusdem patriae urbem, famosam metropolim*), is mentioned five times by Amm. In 27.5.5–6 (q.v.) Amm. relates that Valens made his winter quarters here, in 31.5.4–7 he narrates that in this city the Gothic chief Fritigern narrowly escaped death by the hands of the Roman general Lupicinus and in 31.8.1 that it was to Marcianopolis that demoralized Roman troops retreated after some disastrous battles. See for this city Fluss, 1930; Velkov, 1977, 99–100 and passim. *ILS* 6841 testifies to another city named by Trajan after his sister, in this case in Numidia: *Colonia Marciana Traiana Thamugadi*.

et Dorostorus et Nicopolis et Odessos The ruins of Dorostorus (Talbert 22 E4) or Durostorum (e.g. *CIL* 3.7479; see for other orthographical variants Patsch, 1905, 1863) are situated some four kilometers from modern Silistra in Bulgaria. It was a notable city, according to Thdt. *HE* 3.7.5 (ἐν Δοροστόλῳ δὲ... πόλιν δὲ αὕτη τῆς Θράκης ἐπίσημος). For more information see Patsch, 1905; Velkov, 1977, 100 and passim; Burian, 1997.

Nicopolis ad Istrum (Talbert 22 C5) was founded by Trajan, according to Amm. (31.5.16: *Nicopolis, quam indicium victoriae contra Dacos Traianus condidit imperator*), who mentions the city again in 31.11.2. Its heyday was in the time of Septimius Severus (Kazarow, 1937, 521). Nicopolis is to

be identified with the modern village Nikiup to the north of Tirnovo and not, pace Marié n. 208, with modern Nikopol (Kazarow, 1937, 518–519; Burian, 2000). In the 340s Ulfilas' group of Goths settled in this area (Velkov, 1977, 101; Lenski, 2002, 125 with n. 58). Recent excavations have yielded a lot of information. Cf. e.g. Poulter, 1995; Ivanov, 1998; Poulter (with Falkner and Shepherd), 1999; Poulter, 2007; Vladkova, 2007.

For Odessos (Talbert 22 E5), modern Varna, see the note ad 22.8.43 *Tomi*. Cf. further e.g. Diehl, 1937; Velkov, 1977, 100 and passim; Danov, 1979; Goceva, 1980, Mintschev, 1985 and Velkov, 1988, 103–109.

iuxtaque Scythia, in qua celebriora sunt aliis oppida Dionysopolis et Tomi et Callatis Of the three towns along the coast of the Black Sea mentioned here Dionysopolis (Talbert 22 F5), ἡ πρῶτον ὠνομάζετο Κρουνοὶ διὰ τὰς τῶν ἐγγὺς ὑδάτων ἐκρύσεις (Scymn. GGM I p. 226 (vss. 751–752), was the most southern, Tomi (Talbert 22 F4) the most northern. In the accounts of Festus and Eutropius about the exploits of Marcus Lucullus in the Black Sea area (see the notes ad § 11), both Tomi and Callatis (Calathum; see Vulić, 1919, 1610–1611 for other orthographical variants) are mentioned. *Supra Pontum positas civitates occupavit: Apolloniam, Calathum, Parthenopolim, Tomos, Histrum* (Ruf. Fest. 9); *Inde multas supra Pontum positas civitates adgressus est. Illic Apolloniam evertit, Callatim, Parthenopolim, Tomos, Histrum, Burziaonem cepit* (Eutr. 6.10). Dionysopolis, modern Balčik in Bulgaria, is missing, but occurs in the corresponding list of App. Ill. 85 (Ἴστρος τε <καὶ Καλλατίς> καὶ Διονυσόπολις καὶ Ὀδησσὸς καὶ Μεσημβρία <καὶ Ἀπολλωνία>). “Data on Dionysopolis are sparse” (Velkov, 1977, 108). See e.g. Brandis, 1905; Goceva, 1980 and Von Bredow, 1997. There is a note on Tomi, modern Constanza, ad 22.8.43. Cf. further Danov, 1962; Stoian, 1962; Velkov, 1977, 107 and passim; Von Bredow, 2002. For Valens' stay in this city see the note ad 27.5.5 *impeditus*. Callatis (Talbert 22 F5), *quae antea Cerbatis vocabatur* (Plin. Nat. 4.44), was located near modern Mangalia in Rumania. See e.g. Vulić, 1919; Preda, 1963 and Burian, 1999.

Europa omnium ultima praeter municipia urbibus nitet duabus, Apris et Perintho, quam Heracleam posteritas dixit As was noted ad section 12 *Inter quas*, Festus ended his enumeration of the Thracian provinces with Europa. Amm. reverses the order and puts Rhodope last. The reason is probably that he wanted to end with a confession of his faith in Rome's eternity, *auspicioꝝ prosperitate perpetua*, just as he had done at

the conclusion of his digression on the leap year 26.1.14 *victura cum saeculis Roma*.

The distinction between *municipia* and *urbes* is also found in 14.8.14 *Cyprum itidem insulam... inter municipia crebra urbes duo faciunt claram, Salamis et Paphus*. For *munimentum* as a general term on a par with *oppidum* and *castra*, see the note ad 20.7.1 *munimentum impendio validum*. Apri (Talbert 52 A3, 57 F1), near modern Kestridze, was originally a Thracian town. Located on the *via Egnatia*, it became a Roman colony (*Colonia Claudia Aprensis*, *CIL* 3.386) soon after the annexation of Thrace by A. Didius Gallus (for which see the note ad 27.4.11 *quo imminente*). Cf. Hirschfeld, 1896 and Von Bredow, 1996. For the old and the new name of Heraclea (modern Marmara Ereğlisi; Talbert 52 B3) cf. 22.2.3 *Heracleam ingressus est Perinthum* (q.v.). Add to the literature cited there Sayar, 1998.

- 4.13 *Rhodopa huic adnexa Maximianopolim habet et Maroneam et Aenum, qua condita et relicta Aeneas Italiam auspicioꝝ prosperitate perpetua post diuturnos occupavit errores* Velkov, 1977, 125 makes a few remarks about the three cities. Maximianopolis (Talbert 51 E2, 57 D1) was formerly called Porsulae (*Itin. Anton. Aug.* 321.5, 331.6). The city, which had suffered with time, was put in order again by Justinian (Procop. *Aed.* 4.10.11). See for Maronea (Talbert 51 F3, 57 D1), already mentioned by e.g. Herodotus (7.109.1), Oberhummer, 1930 and Von Bredow, 1999. The town has kept its name till the present day. Amm. had mentioned Aenus before in 22.8.3 *Aenus, qua diris auspiciis coepta moxque relicta ad Ausoniam veterem ductu numinum properavit Aeneas* (q.v.), as part of his digression on the Black Sea and its surrounding regions. In the present context the author does not refer to the inauspicious omens that induced Aeneas to leave Aenus, but focuses on the brilliant future in Italy promised by Apollo on Delos after the Trojans had left Aenus: *antiquam exquirite matrem. / hic domus Aeneae cunctis dominabitur oris / et nati natorum et qui nascentur ab illis* (Verg. *A.* 3.96–98). The phrase *diuturnus error* may be a reminiscence of Cic. *Off.* 1.113 *quam multa passus est Ulixes in illo errore diuturno*.

- 4.14 *Constat autem, ut vulgavere rumores assidui, omnes paene agrestes, qui per regiones praedictas montium circumcolunt altitudines, salubritate virium et praerogativa quadam vitae longius propagandae nos anteire* For the reliability of rumours see the note ad 25.6.8 *audierant enim*. The combination with *constat*, for which see the note ad 20.8.6 *cum documentis*, together with the adjective *assidui* proves that Amm. takes these rumours seriously. As in 22.8.43 *Peuce prominet insula, quam circumcolunt Trogodytae et Peuci* (q.v.), *circumcolunt*

does not mean ‘live around’, but ‘live round about on’ the high mountains of Thrace. The word *agrestis* for a mountain dweller is not unusual, cf. e.g. Ov. *Met.* 3.315–316, where the god Faunus says *dī sumus agrestes et qui dominemur in altis / montibus*. For *praerogativa* see the note ad 23.5.22 *absque omni*. Here it is used metaphorically; “fere latius et tropice”, TLL X 2.797.9 (the text is incorrectly quoted in l. 20). Hence the addition *quadam*. The expression *vitam propagare* ‘to keep alive’ is found in Cic. *Inv.* 1.2 *victu fero vitam propagabant* and *Fin.* 5.32 (Philoctetes) *propagabat tamen vitam aucupio* (‘by catching birds’).

idque inde contingere arbitrantur, quod colluvione ciborum abstinent calidis The connection between the physical and psychological characteristics of nations and their natural environment has been regarded as evident in philosophical and historical texts from the Hippocratic treatise *De aere, aquis et locis* up to Isidorus of Sevilla, who wrote: *Secundum diversitatem enim caeli et facies hominum et colores et corporum quantitates et animorum diversitates existunt* (*Etym.* 9.2.105). In historiography the classic statement is Plb. 4.21.1, where the austerity of the Arcadians is explained as follows: τὴν τῶν ἡθῶν αὐστηρίαν, ἥτις αὐτοῖς παρέπεται διὰ τὴν τοῦ περιέχοντος ψυχρότητα καὶ στυγνότητα τὴν κατὰ τὸ πλεῖστον ἐν τοῖς τόποις ὑπάρχουσαν, ᾧ συνεξομοιοῦσθαι πεφύκαμεν πάντες ἄνθρωποι κατ’ ἀνάγκην. (‘the harshness of character resulting from the cold and gloomy atmospheric conditions usually prevailing in these parts – conditions to which all men by their very nature must perforce assimilate themselves’, tr. Paton). Apart from the excellent quality of water and air in Thrace it is the frugal lifestyle of its inhabitants that makes them healthier than the Romans. To begin with, they abstain from eating heterogeneous food (*colluvione ciborum*). The same phrase is used in the description of Jovian’s death in 25.10.13 *ex colluvione ciborum avida cruditate distentus* (q.v.). The word *colluvio* always has a negative ring, whether it is used of food as here, of morals, as in 21.14.5 *a colluvione peccandi* and 31.9.5 *colluvione liberatur incesti*, or of people, as in 15.2.4 *in colluvione illa Neroniani saeculi* and 30.4.15 *in colluvione taeterrima*.

Blomgren 51 n. 2 tried to defend *colluvione ciborum...calidis* as a kind of constructio ad sensum, in which the plural *calidis* agrees with the plural *ciborum*, as if Amm. had written *cibis commixtis*. There are no convincing parallels for such a construction in Amm. What is more important, the interpretation needs to take into account the evident opposition *calidis-gelidis* in this sentence. Since the latter adjective refers to water, we must ask whether this may also apply to *calidis*. This is

evidently the case. TLL III 151.75–152.3 lists a number of instances in which *calida* or *caldā* (*aqua*) is used to designate warm springs or warm baths; the same applies to Greek θερμὸν (ῥῥωρ). Some examples are Apul. *Met.* 4.7 *ex more calida tumultuario lavacro vestro praeeparata* (“the usual hot water is ready for a quick wash-down”, tr. Walsh); Sen. *Ep.* 77.9 *Solium deinde inlatum est, in quo diu iacuit et calda subinde suffusa paulatim defecit*; Suet. *Aug.* 82.2 *quotiens nervorum causa marinis Albulisque calidis utendum esset* (“when however he had to use hot salt water and sulphur baths for rheumatism”, tr. Rolfe). If this interpretation of *calidis* is correct, the only element missing would be *et* before or – *que* after *calidis*. Eyssenhardt proposed the former, Rolfe, probably taking his cue from Damsté, 1929, the latter. Since it produces a regular *cursus velox*, this seems the best solution.

perenni viriditate roris asperginibus gelidis corpora constringente A flowery description of the wholesome effect of the cold water in which the Thracians are wont to bathe: “a lasting freshness knits their bodies through cold sprinklings with dew” (tr. Rolfe). The excellent quality of the water in Thrace is mentioned by Horace: *Ep.* 1.16.12–13 *ut nec / frigidior Thracam nec purior ambiat Hebrus*. The *iunctura perennis viriditas* is unique, but Apul. *Mun.* 4 may have been in Amm.’s mind: *haec* (sc. *terra*) *frequentatur animantibus, haec silvarum viriditate vestitur, haec fontium perennitate recreatur*. *Constringere* is a medical t.t. “to tone up (the body)” (OLD 6c); TLL IV 543.67sqq. Cold baths are healthy: Orib. *Eup.* 10.7 *δυσαντίβλεπτον γάρ ἐστι τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ἐκ τοῦ ψυχρολουτεῖν ὠφελείας. διὰ τοῦτο εὐροις ἂν τοὺς μὲν ψυχρολουτοῦντας, καὶ εἰ γηραιοὶ παντάπασιν ὥσιν, συνεστῶτάς τε καὶ πεπηγότας τοῖς σώμασι* (‘the usefulness of cold baths can hardly be exaggerated. Therefore you will find that people who take cold baths, even if they are very old, are bodily fit and strong’). Hot baths have the opposite effect, and make the body weak Ar. *Nub.* 1045–1046 *καίτοι τίνα γνώμην ἔχων ψέγεις τὰ θερμὰ λουτρά; ὅτι κακιστόν ἐστι καὶ δειλὸν ποιεῖ τὸν ἄνδρα* (“Now what’s your reason for scorning hot baths? / Because they’re utterly bad and turn a man into a coward”, tr. Rogers). That is the reason why the Cimbrians lost their initial vigour according to Cassius Dio 27.94.2 *πολὺ τοῦ θυμοῦ οἱ Κίμβριοι παρελύθησαν, κακὸν τούτου καὶ ἀμβλύτεροι καὶ ἀσθενέστεροι καὶ ταῖς ψυχαῖς καὶ τοῖς σώμασιν ἐγένοντο. αἴτιον δὲ ὅτι ἔν τε οἰκίαις ἐκ τῆς πρόσθεν ὑπαιθρίου διαίτης κατέλυνον, καὶ λουτροῖς θερμοῖς ἀντὶ τῆς πρόσθεν ψυχρολουσίας ἐχρῶντο* (“The Cimbri lost much of their spirit and consequently became enfeebled and

sluggish in both mind and body. The reason was that in place of their former outdoor life they lodged in houses and instead of their former cold plunges they used warm baths”, tr. Cary).

aurae purioris dulcedine potiuntur The combination of an abstract noun with a genitive is one of Amm.’s favourite stylistic embellishments in his digressions. It enables him to join two attributes, sweetness and purity, to one noun in an elegant fashion. A similar expression is found in *Dirae* 22 *hinc auras dulces, hinc suavis spiritus* and 49 *litora, quae dulcis auras diffunditis agris*. The verb *potiri* here has the meaning of “to possess” (OLD 5b), as in 23.6.33 *cuius tranquillis silentiis praecelsa Brachmanorum ingenia potiuntur* (q.v.).

radiosque solis suapte natura vitales primi omnium sentiunt nullis adhuc maculis rerum humanarum infectos Sabbah 561 n. 64 aptly compares Julian’s *Hymn to King Helios* 153 b–c *διὰ τοι τοῦτο καὶ κατὰ τὰς περιόδους αὐτοῦ πάντα τὰ φυόμενα καὶ τὰ παντοδαπῶν ζώων φύλλα κινεῖται πρὸς ἀπογέννησιν τοῦ ὁμοίου. Τί χρὴ τὰς ἀκτῖνας αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ φῶς σεμνῶναι*; (“Surely it is for this reason that, in agreement with the course of the sun, all plants and all the tribes of living things are aroused to bring forth their kind. What need is there for me to glorify his beams and his light?”, tr. Wright). In Philostr. *VA* 6.11.10 the Indians are singled out as being spiritually superior, because they are the first to receive the pure rays of the sun: *λεπτότεροι μὲν τὴν ζύνεσιν οἱ τοιοῖδε ἄνθρωποι καθαρωτέραις ὁμιλοῦντες ἀκτίσιν, ἀληθέστεροι δὲ τὰς περὶ φύσεώς τε καὶ θεῶν δόξας, ἅτε ἀγχίθεοι καὶ πρὸς ἀρχαῖς τῆς ζωογόνου καὶ θερμῆς οὐσίας οἰκοῦντες* (“they have more refined perceptions, since they live in purer sunlight, and have truer views of nature and the gods, being close to the gods and living near the sources of warm, life-giving nature; tr. Jones).

his ita digestis pedem referamus ad coepta Cf. 26.1.1 *referre a notioribus* with the note and for a similar transition 25.4.16 *Digestis bonis, quae scire potuimus, nunc ad explicanda eius vitia veniamus*. In general on the introductions and conclusions to digressions in Amm. see Emmett, 1981.

CHAPTER 5

Introduction

This chapter contains the report on Valens' attempts to square the accounts with the Goths for having lent unacceptable support to the usurper Procopius. The emperor invaded the enemy's territory north of the Danube three times during the years 367–369, without any spectacular military success. The Goths avoided open battle and the Roman army proved unable to cope effectively with these tactics. Nevertheless, the increasing shortage of the necessities of life caused by the war forced the enemy to press for peace. Valens decided to comply with this wish. When preparatory negotiations with Roman generals had reached a decisive point, the Gothic chief Athanaric unexpectedly claimed that an oath he had sworn to his father forbade him to set foot on Roman soil. Because the Romans regarded peace as desirable, they had to accept this. On the other hand, it would have been beneath the dignity of a Roman emperor to cross the river into Gothic territory for the completion of the peace negotiations. For this reason it was decided that Valens and Athanaric would meet midstream on a boat. This meeting achieved the aim of both parties.

Procopio superato in Phrygia internarumque dissensionum materia consopita Victor magister equitum ad Gothos est missus cogniturus aperte Procopius' final defeat and death (he was beheaded on 27 May 366) are reported in 26.9.7–9; see the notes ad loc. Amm. uses *materia* quite often in a metaphorical way, with the meaning 'cause' or 'source'; see the note ad 20.4.15 *discordiarum materias*. Cf. also 19.11.3 *querelarum sopitis materiis* and 22.5.3 *discordiis consopitis*. As was announced at the end of the digression in chapter 4, Amm. now returns to the point which he had reached in 27.4.1. The strategic agenda is being drastically changed, from internal problems to what would gradually turn out to be a far more dangerous foe: *Gothia*. See for the former *magister peditum*, now *magister equitum* Victor the notes ad 24.1.2 *agmina vero* and 26.5.2 *in orientem*. He was awarded the consulship in 369 (cf. Bagnall et al., 1987, 272–273).

The note ad 21.16.3 *qui post* explains that the “adv. *aperte* sometimes accompanies verbs in the sphere of information with the sense ‘leaving

no room for doubts"; add to the examples mentioned in this note 16.9.3 *cum... aperte cognossent* and 31.2.24 *aperte, quid portenditur, norunt*.

quam ob causam gens amica Romanis foederibusque longae pacis obstricta tyranno dederat adminicula bellum principibus legitimis inferenti For this text two suggestions of Petschenig, 1892, 523 are relevant. Clark, Seyfarth and Marié rightly print his excellent conjecture *tyranno* for V's incomprehensible *ramo*. His support for Liesenberg's *longae* for V's *inge* has been accepted by Clark and Seyfarth. However, Lindenbrog's tentative *iugis* deserves a second chance. Amm. indeed has *paceque longissima* in 18.6.3, but he does use the adi. *iugis*, albeit sparingly: 21.5.3 *populandique iugem licentiam*, 28.1.1 *iuge silentium*. This prompted Marié to print adverbial *iuge*, which is very close to V, but involves a distorted word order. Lindenbrog could have strengthened his case by referring to *iugi pace* in Dict. 2.16 and Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 15.3. Although *iugis* does not occur frequently in Latin literature, instances are found from Plautus onwards, one of the most famous being Horace's *iugis aquae fons* (*S.* 2.6.2). See for the long-lasting peaceful relations between Romans and Goths and their deterioration after the death of Julian the note ad 26.6.11 *docetur relationibus*. Cf. for *obstringere*, 'to bind', in contexts concerning obligations arising from oaths, laws or treaties Tac. *Hist.* 1.54.3 *obstringuntur inter se tacito foedere*, 4.76.3 *foederibus Galliarum obstrictas*, Ann. 2.26.3 *regemque Maroboduum pace constrictum*.

For the *adminicula* given by the Goths to Procopius see 26.10.3 *Gothorum tria milia regibus iam lenitis ad auxilium transmissa Procopio Constantinianam praetendenti necessitudinem* with the note ad loc. In 27.4.1 Amm. had also reported that (Gothi) *auxilia misere Procopio civilia bella coeptanti*. Both Eunapius (*fr.* 37) and Zosimus (4.10.2) relate that the Goths (whom they call Scythians) claimed to have sent these auxiliaries in good faith to Procopius as the then ruling Roman emperor, at Procopius' invitation and under the terms of the then existing treaty. While Amm. only speaks of Valens' wish to obtain satisfaction from the Goths for aiding Procopius, Eunapius (*fr.* 37) and Zosimus (4.10.1–2) give more information ("Les données d'Eunape-Zosime et d'Ammien se complètent ici assez bien", Paschoud n. 124). According to them the Gothic soldiers sent to Procopius from the other side of the Danube had behaved arrogantly and had raided Roman territory, which induced Valens to arrest them, whereupon the Gothic king demanded the release of his compatriots. Valens' refusal to assent resulted in war.

By explicitly opposing the ‘legitimate’ reign of the Pannonian brothers and the ‘tyranny’ of the usurper Procopius Amm. joins in the general late fourth-century custom to denote usurpers with this term. As an ‘official’ propagandistic term *tyrannus* may well have been introduced by Constantine; it most famously occurs in the inscription on the Arch of Constantine in Rome: *TAM DE TYRANNO QVAM DE OMNI EIVS FACTIONE VNO TEMPORE IVSTIS REM PVBLICAM VLTIVS EST ARMIS* (CIL 6.1139). Neri, 1997 argues that this use of *tyrannus* did not focus on the illegitimacy of the adversary, but on his evil ways. In the course of the century, however, *tyrannus* gradually became the normal term for ‘usurper’. Of Amm.’s two instances of *tyrannis* and five of *tyrannus* 15.9.6 and 16.8.10 concern mythology (adversaries of Hercules) and Greek history (Dionysius of Syracuse) respectively; the other five concern Silvanus (15.5.24, 15.8.6), various usurpers (17.5.13), Procopius (27.5.1) and Magnus Maximus (27.6.2). See also Den Hengst, 1981, 19–24 on the use of *tyrannus* in the *Historia Augusta* and Barnes, 1996 on *tyrannus* denoting a persecutor of Christians.

See Szantyr 538 on the general tendency in Late Latin to use the ind. in indirect questions and the notes ad 14.6.2 *mirari posse* (p. 89) and 21.1.13 *mussando*. For all his critical remarks on Valens’ actions and his general lack of the qualities needed for his high office, Amm. did not dispute his legitimacy; in 26.4.3 he calls him *participem... legitimum potestatis* (q.v.). See also the note ad 26.10.13 *haec implacabilitas*.

qui ut factum firma defensione purgarent, litteras eiusdem obtulere Procopii ut generis Constantiniani propinquo imperium sibi debitum sumpsisse commemorantis veniaque dignum asserentes errorem See for *purgare*, ‘to excuse by an apology’, the note ad 20.4.16 *hocque*. The adj. *firmus* expresses the confidence of the Goths: they regarded this excuse as “sure to succeed” (OLD s.v. 10b); however, Valens (and in all probability the author as well) regarded it as *excusationem vanissimam* (§ 2). Nevertheless, the letter itself may well have been authentic and is in any case in keeping with Procopius’ own claim of being closely connected to the Constantinian dynasty; see the notes ad 26.6.1 *iamque summatibus*, 26.7.10 *quod Constanti* and 26.10.3 *Gothorum tria*. This argument of the Goths is also expounded by Eunapius (*fr.* 37): ἐκείνου δὲ προστιθέντος τὸν Ἰουλιανόν, καὶ ὅτι διὰ τὴν ἐκείνου ἐδεδώκει συγγένειαν (“the king then justified his sending of assistance to Procopius on the ground of the latter’s kinship with Julian”, tr. Blockley).

Amm. has a predilection for the verb *asserere*; in most instances it denotes a more or less emphatic statement, e.g. Constantius' reaction to Julian's pronunciamiento: *nihil novatorum se asserens suscepisse*, "he declared that he had accepted none of the changes that had been made" (20.9.4) and Julian's remark on leaving Antioch, where his relationship with the population had been quite bad: *se eos asserens postea non visurum* (23.2.4). The precise meaning of *venia dignus* is well illustrated by these words in 16.7.5: if the emperor Constans had listened to good advice, *nulla vel venia certe digna peccasset*, "he would have committed no faults, or at the worst only such as were venial" (tr. Hamilton).

- 5.2 *Quibus eodem referente Victore compertis Valens parvi ducens excusationem vanissimam in eos signa commovit motus adventantis iam praescios* There is no reason to doubt the correctness of *parvi ducens*: the phrase *parvi ducere* also occurs in 17.4.13, 20.4.5, 21.12.7 and 31.10.19. This is Amm.'s only instance of the rare superlative *vanissimus*; for this reason it should be regarded as a strong term. Moreover, the author does not suggest any qualification on his part, so that one may assume that he also regarded the excuse as flimsy. Eunapius (*fr.* 37) seems to give the Goths more credit: καὶ ἦν τὸ πρᾶγμα δριμύ καὶ πρὸς τὸν τοῦ δικαίου λόγον οὐκ εὐδίαίτητον ("the issue was a contentious one and not easily to be settled with justice", tr. Blockley). For an excellent survey of Valens' first Gothic war see Lenski, 2002, 116–152; older literature is cited in n. 66 on p. 127.

Amm. uses the noun *motus* to denote various developments or operations, inter alia in the military sphere, e.g. 18.4.7 *novi motus rumoribus*, 20.6.9 *ad praesciscendos adversos subitosque motus*, 26.7.5 *super barbaricis motibus*. Cf. for *adventare*, 'to be at hand', e.g. 18.6.4 *procinctus adventans*, 21.14.1 *adventare casum vitae difficilem*, 26.6.20 *adventantium periculorum angoribus implicatus*. With *praescios* Amm. prepares the readers for the fact that the Goths were not taken by surprise, but took action. As will appear in the next section, this action differed from what the reader may have expected. Amm. does not disclose from which source the Goths' derived their prior knowledge: information gathered by spies or merely the lucid conclusion drawn from Victor's embassy.

et pubescente vere quaesito in unum exercitu prope Daphnen nomine munimentum est castra metatus The phrase *pubescente vere* only occurs twice in Amm.; the other case is 30.5.1. Here the spring of 367 is meant. Zosimus in 4.11.1 says that Valens left Marcianopolis to start his campaign ἔαρος

ἀρχομένου. The emperor happened to be still in Marcianopolis, which he also used as his winterquarters in the next years (cf. 27.5.5–6), on 30 May 367 (*Cod. Theod.* 11.17.1); cf. Zahariade, 1983. During the preceding winter, according to Zos. 4.10.3–11.1, Valens had made ample preparations for the impending war. He himself stayed in Marcianopolis, while his troops were stationed along the Danube. In the meantime his praetorian prefect Auxonius (*PLRE* I, Auxonius 1), the successor of ‘Saloustios’ (i.e. Saturninius Secundus Salutius *PLRE* I, Secundus 3), successfully took care of the food supply for the army. Auxonius is never mentioned by Amm.

The fact that he concentrated his military forces in one place showed that Valens meant business. See for *munimentum*, ‘(border) fortress’, the notes ad 20.7.1 *munimentum*, 22.7.7 *urbes quin* and 23.5.1 *munimentum*. The present text contains the only case of deponential *metari* in Amm. His mentioning of Daphne is puzzling. He apparently situates the fortress, where Valens had a bridge built across the river, on the southern bank of the Danube, that is, in the Roman province of Moesia Inferior. This is at variance with a passage of Procopius (*Aed.* 4.7.7), who locates Daphne on the northern side, opposite Transmarisca (Talbert 22 D4), modern Tutrakan in Bulgaria (see for this garrison town e.g. Ptol. 3.10.5 and *Not. Dign. Or.* 40.34 with Polaschek, 1936; Burian, 2002 and Paunov, 2007): μεθ’ ὃ δὴ τὸ Τρασμαρίσκας ὀχύρωμά ἐστιν· οὐπερ καταντικρὺ ἐν τῇ ἀντιπέρας ἡπεύρω Κωνσταντίνος ποτε Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς φρούριον οὐκ ἀπημελημένως ὤκοδομήσατο, Δάφνην ὄνομα, οὐκ ἀξύμορον νενομικῶς εἶναι φυλάσσεσθαι ταύτῃ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐκατέρωθεν. (‘Beyond this (sc. the fort of Cynton) is the stronghold Trasmariscas. Just opposite this, on the other bank of the river, Constantine, Emperor of the Romans, once built with no small care a fort, Daphnê by name, thinking it not inexpedient that the river should be guarded on both sides at this point’, tr. Dewing). Some scholars disregard the discrepancy (e.g. Heather, 1991, 86, 107; Lenski, 2002, 121, 127, 145; Kulikowski, 2007, 83, 115). Others accept both Amm.’s and Procopius’ statement as correct, but locate Amm.’s Daphne not on the northern bank of the Danube near modern Oltenita and Spantov in Romania opposite Tutrakan (as Procopius would have it), but on the southern bank at Pirjoia, 25 à 30 km downstream of Dorostorus (Talbert 22 E4), modern Silistra (so e.g. Matthews 319 and 526 n. 24, following Diaconu, 1971). Unfortunately, although in this case the problem is recognized, the arguments adduced are rather arbitrary and weak, as Wanke, 1990, 92–94 sets forth. For instance, a connection

between Pîrjoia and the name Daphne is nonexistent. More convincing is the suggestion of those scholars who think that Procopius was right and Amm. wrong (so e.g. Velkov, 1980, 49, 263 ff. and Wanke, 1990, 92–94), arguing that the fact that Amm. does not mention Transmarisca seems to indicate that he confused the name of the bridge-head in barbarian territory (Daphne) with that of the border town on the Roman side of the Danube (Transmarisca). Whether Constantine's fort Daphne still existed in Valens' time, is questionable. Procopius says that it was totally destroyed by the barbarians as time went on – unfortunately, he does not say when precisely – and that it was Justinian who rebuilt it, beginning from the foundations ὃ δὴ προϊόντος τοῦ χρόνου βάρβαροι μὲν ἀφανίζουσι τὸ παράπαν, Ἰουστινιανὸς δὲ ἀνωκοδομήσατο βασιλεὺς ἐκ θεμελίων ἀρξάμενος, *Aed.* 4.7.8).

The legend CONSTANTINIANA DAFNE on some Constantinopolitan coins with a statue of victory with a laurel in her right hand, a palm in her left and a captive at her feet (Bruun, 1966, 574–575) commemorates, according to most scholars (e.g. Bruun, 1966, 72; Heather, 1991, 107–108; Lenski, 2002, 121), Constantine's founding of Daphne, the fort which supposedly was also officially called by that name (cf. Velkov, 1977, 210; Burian, 2002; Elton, 2006, 342). Such assumptions have been challenged by Diaconu, 1971, McGregor, 1984 and Iliescu, 1987. Among other things they point to the fact that, although the Romans built many forts, no other fort was ever commemorated on coins. In their view DAFNE ('Laurel') stands for VICTORIA and points to one of Constantine's victories, e.g. that at Chrysopolis over Licinius on 18 September 324 (so Iliescu).

ponteque contabulato supra navium foros flumen transgressus est Histrum resistentibus nullis The fact that a bridge had to be devised implies that the stone bridge over the Danube built by Constantine at Oescus (near Gigen in Bulgaria) was out of use. *Chron. Pasch.* a. 328 Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ εὐσεβῆς τὸν Δανοῦβιν πλειστάκις ἐπέρασεν, καὶ γέφυραν αὐτῷ λιθίνην ἐποίησεν, *Aur. Vict. Caes.* 41.18, *epit.* 41.13, with Festy ad loc., and Bruun, 1966, 331. Cf. Alföldi, 1926; Thompson, 1956 and Wanke, 1990, 30–31.

Building bridges is a frequently recurring task in the *Res Gestae*; some examples: 17.12.4 *super navium foros ponte contexto* with De Jonge's note which mentions some other phrases denoting a pontoon bridge, 21.7.7 *navali ponte* (q.v.), 23.2.7 *Euphrate navali ponte transmisso* (q.v.), 24.4.6 *Constratis postridie pontibus* (q.v.), 24.7.8 *contabulandi pontis*, 25.7.4 *pontes com-*

paginari (q.v.), 25.8.4 *pontem iungere* (q.v.), 30.5.13 *contabulato celeri studio ponte*.

Apart from *nisi perquam gnaris*, this entire section was added to V in a second hand. There is no reason to doubt its authenticity, but assuming the correctness of the text, the punctuation of Clark and Seyfarth is, to put it mildly, not particularly helpful. The words *omnes enim... perquam gnaris* are rightly marked as an explanatory parenthesis by Marié and Viansino. After this, in § 4, follows a final clause (*ne... effectu*) and finally the main clause (*Arintheo... partem*).

5.3

iamque sublatus fiducia cum ultro citroque discurrens nullum inveniret, quem superare poterat vel terrere It is difficult to pinpoint the exact meaning of *sublatus fiducia*. Its negative colour in 28.6.10 *fiducia sublati praeteritorum* and 29.2.7 *ea fiducia sublior* is in both cases caused by the entire context. The present context does not point in the same direction. One can hardly blame Valens for being in high spirits and full of confidence in the actual situation. Moreover, a negative connotation would consequently also apply to *pari alacritate* in § 5 and *Simili pertinacia* in § 6, which strains the imagination. Add to this that in § 8 Valens is called *spectator adhuc aequissimus rerum* in this early phase of his imperial career. The combination *ultro citroque discurre* occurs nine times in Amm.; the only other cases are Apul. *Met.* 1.5 about a travelling merchant and Macr. *Somn.* 2.10.10 on the courses of the sun and the moon. As is pointed out in the note ad 20.6.2, *discurre* can denote energetic military action. This also suits the present text. Obviously *ultro citroque* here does not mean ‘on both sides’, as in 25.6.1 (q.v.), but ‘in all directions’. Alas, there was nobody available to be vanquished or intimidated. The withdrawal of the Goths before the forces of Valens was in accordance with normal practice among barbarians, who “preferred to avoid pitched battles against Romans as much as possible” (Elton, 1996, 80). See e.g. 27.10.7 *nullus potuit, qui resisteret, inveniri* and for more examples Elton, 1996, 80–82 and Lenski, 2002, 128.

omnes enim formidine perciti militis cum apparatu ambizioso propinquantis montes petivere Serrorum arduos et inaccessos nisi perquam gnaris With *enim* Amm. appeals to the reader’s understanding: ‘as you will readily understand’. See the note ad 21.9.5 *levibus* on the difference between *percussus* and *percitus* in Amm. As is noted ad 20.11.5 *dolore*, he often uses *percitus* with an abl. causae denoting an emotion. The Goths did not expect to

be attacked by some light-armed forces, they expected an operation with all the trimmings. Cf. *apparatum ambitiosi procinctus* (18.2.17, q.v.), *omni apparatu bellorum* (20.8.1, q.v.), *cum ambitiosis copiis* (24.5.7, q.v.). In the present text the Goths fled ‘at the approach of an impressively equipped Roman army’.

The *montes Serrorum* probably have to be looked for in the south-eastern Carpathians. Cf. Wanke, 1990, 96–97, who is sceptical about the attempt of Cazacu, 1972 to locate the mountains more precisely, viz. the range now called Siriul, a “Gebirgszug, der im Buzău-Tal die Walachei von Siebenbürgen abgrenzt” (p. 301). A connection between the *montes Serrorum* and the people of the Serr(e)i mentioned in Plin. *Nat.* 6.19 seems out of the question (cf. Kretschmer, 1921 and Fluss, 1921). The towering Serri mountains were only accessible to those who were ‘exceedingly’ familiar with the surroundings, so that Valens’ troops were unable to achieve anything. Amm. uses *perquam* more than twenty times, twice even with a superlative: *perquam scientissimus* (21.16.7, q.v., and 24.1.3).

- 5.4 *ne igitur aestate omni consumpta sine ullo remearet effectū, Arintheo magistro peditum misso cum praedatoriis globis familiarum rapuit partem, quae antequam ad dirupta venirent et flexuosa capi potuerunt per plana camporum errantes* The return from the parenthesis to the main text is marked by *igitur*. Perhaps contrary to expectation, *aestatem consumere* is not a frequently used expression; it occurs once in Livy: *consumpta aestate* (42.9.7), and once more in Amm.: *aestateque consumpta* (29.1.4); cf. also *consumpta hieme* (26.6.11), *maiore itaque noctis parte consumpta* (26.9.9), *diebus ibi quadraginta consumptis* (28.6.6). The phrase *sine (ullo) effectū* occurs in various authors, for instance ten times in Livy. See for Arintheus (*PLRE* I, Arinthaëus) the notes ad 24.1.2 *Arintheo*, 25.5.2 *Arintheus* and 26.8.4 *Arintheum*. In 372 Valens awarded him a consulship (Bagnall et al., 1987, 278–279). The combination *praedatorius globus* only occurs in Amm.; the other cases are 14.6.16, 15.13.4, 26.4.5, 31.10.4. The first of these instances occurs as an ironic comparison in the first Roman digression (14.6), the other three concern non-Roman troops. Obviously, Valens felt compelled to resort to less dignified methods. Zos. 4.11.3 even reports that the soldiers were paid on showing τῶν κατασφαττομένων τὰς κεφαλὰς. Paschoud n. 125 dates this passage of Zosimus to 369, “but the short season and constant marching that year probably precluded such guerilla raids” (Lenski, 2002, 128 n. 74). The words *dirupta* (‘steep’) and *flexuosa* (‘full of

winding paths') are a variation of *arduos et inaccessos* in § 3. See for the gen. inversus in *plana camporum* the note ad 24.1.2 *per plana camporum*.

hocque tantum, quod fors dederat, impetrato redit cum suis innoxius nec illato gravi vulnere nec accepto Not a great result for an expedition *cum apparatu ambitioso*! However, it is difficult to ascertain the author's intention with this observation. Is it irony or rather exasperation at the Goths' evasiveness? See for 'formulaic' phrases in which *fors* is the Agens the note ad 26.6.11 *cui in haec*, and for *innoxius* and its synonym *incolumis* in combination with e.g. *abire* or *redire* the note ad 21.5.12 *ille innoxius*. Cf. 20.7.18 *multis acceptis vulneribus quam illatis* (q.v.), 31.5.17 *post clades acceptas illatasque multas et saevas*, 31.16.7 *post accepta maiora funera quam illata*. It is not known whether Valens on his return also crossed the Danube at Daphne/Transmarisca (cf. § 2) as he did at the start of his campaign. His presence in Dorostorus is attested by *Cod. Theod.* 10.1.11 (cf. 12.6.14) for 25 September 367, which is the terminus post quem for his return to the winterquarters at Marcianopolis (cf. the note ad § 2 *et pubescente vere*). On account of *Cod. Theod.* 10.17.2 some scholars maintain that the emperor was there on 9 March 368 (so Seeck, 1919, 34, 233, correcting the mss. reading 9 March 365; Barnes 250; Lenski, 2002, 129 n. 77), but see the objections against this proposal of Delmaire, 1987, 833 and Pergami, 1993, 173.

Anno secuto ingredi terras hostiles pari alacritate conatus fusius Danubii gurgitibus vagatis impeditus mansit immobilis prope Carporum vicum stativis castris ad usque autumnum locatis emensum The 'next year' was 368. In contrast to Zosimus, whose account (4.11) does not differentiate between the various stages of the struggle, Amm. makes clear that Valens' first Gothic war covered a period of three years (cf. *tertio...anno* in § 6). It was in 368 and not in 369 that Valens celebrated his *quinquennalia* (he had been made Augustus on 28 March 364, 26.4.3, q.v.), as Chastagnol, 1987 convincingly argues against Seeck, 1883 and others. *ILS* 770 (*tempore feliciter quinquennaliorum*) refers to this event (more about the inscription in the note ad 27.5.6 *Simili pertinacia*). For this occasion Themistius had traveled from Constantinople to the imperial winter quarters in Marcianopolis to deliver his *Or.* 8, for which see among others Heather-Matthews, 1991, 14–17; Vanderspoel, 1995, 168–171; Errington, 2000, 883–885. Themistius in *Or.* 10.133 b, speaking of the unwillingness of the Danube to bear its yoke as the king crossed it on his way to

war, perhaps alludes to the events of 368 Ἰστρος δὲ ἐπὶ πολέμῳ μὲν βασιλέως περαιουμένου ἐξεύγνυτο ἄκων. Cf. Heather-Matthews, 1991, 41 with n. 87. Blomgren 99–100 tentatively defends the possibility of an ellipsis of *anno*. He inter alia refers to Löfstedt, 1911, 296–297, who quotes some cases in sepulchral inscriptions. However, Clark, Seyfarth, Marié and Viansino are right in preferring Gelenius' addition of *anno*. There are two reasons for this: 1. there is no other example in Amm. of such an ellipsis; cf. e.g. *Secuto die* (15.4.9), *lucē vero secuta* (23.3.8) and indeed *secuto post haec anno* (30.3.1), 2. the phrase *tertio quoque anno* in § 6.

In attempting to invade Gothic territory Valens showed the same 'fighting spirit' as in the year before; see for *alacritas* the note ad 25.1.7 *cum ipsae*. See the note ad 22.8.2 *paulatim* for *fusius* denoting "wide, almost boundless extent" and the note ad 22.8.3 for *gurgites* meaning 'waters'. Cornelissen, 1886, 287 conjectures *evagatis*, because that is usually said "de fluminibus stagnantibus". This is simply untrue. He could have strengthened his case by referring to 18.7.9 *Euphraten... late fusis gurgitibus evagari*, but such instances of the verb are not frequent. On the other hand, Amm. has five other instances of the combination *fusius vagari*, in various meanings. Seyfarth and Marié rightly retain V's text. See the note ad 25.4.14 *quoad fuit* for *immobilis* in combination with *manere* and *stare* denoting imperturbability. However, *immobilis* can also denote enforced military inactivity: *tabescebat immobilis* (14.3.4), *immobiles diu mansere nihil audentes hostile* (27.9.7), *per longa saecula siluerunt immobiles* (31.5.17). Consequently, while in 367 Valens' campaign had yielded hardly any results due to the tactics of the Goths to flee to the *montes Serrorum*, his second campaign was hampered by the flooding of the Danube. According to Amm. the emperor now remained in a permanent camp "near a village of the Carpi" (this rendering of Amm.'s words by Rolfe and Hamilton seems better than "at Vicus Carporum" or "near Vicus Carporum", as e.g. Barnes 251 and Lenski, 2002, 129 would have it). Where is this village to be found, or, to put it in more general terms, where did the Carpi live in the time of Valens?

The earliest information we possess about the Carpi, Petr. Patr. *fr.* 8, deals with the relations of this tribe with Goths and Romans in the time of emperor Gordian III (cf. Bleckmann, 1992, 176), but they may already have been involved in disturbances under Caracalla (cf. Wilkes, 2005, 224). Their original abode was situated between Olbia and the estuary of the Danube (Burian, 1997, 995; see Bichir, 1976, I, 148–151 for various theories with regard to the localization of the

Carpi), but “the history of the Carpi is in fact a succession of movements south, either voluntarily or under compulsion” (Batty, 2007, 377). Ammianus relates in 28.1.5 that some Carpi were transferred into Pannonia by Diocletian: (Carporum) *quos antiquis excitis sedibus Diocletianus transtulit in Pannoniam*, and Aurelius Victor (*Caes.* 39.43) even reports that at the end of the third century the whole Carpic nation was transferred to Roman soil: *Carporumque natio translata omnis in nostrum solum, cuius fere pars iam tum ab Aureliano erat*; cf. *Consul. Constant.* a. 295 and *Eutr.* 9.25.2. Aurelius Victor’s statement is no doubt exaggerated (in the fourth century we also hear of Roman attacks on the Carpi north of the Danube; cf. e.g. *ILS* 696, an inscription in which Constantine the Great is hailed as *Ca[r]p(icus) max(imus)*), but that Carpi were settled in villages on Roman soil near the frontiers as slaves, free labourers or auxiliary troops seems a plausible assumption.

It was near such a village along the Danube that Valens in 368 must have set up his base camp. This village was presumably situated at a spot where the Danube could easily be crossed, perhaps in the neighbourhood of modern Hărșova in Romania, as Wanke, 1990, 97–101 suggests. He argues that Valens built a new fort there, Carsium by name (cf. *Itin. Anton. Aug.* 224.4; *Not. Dign. Or.* 39.22: *Carso*; Talbert 22 E4), to be identified with the fort mentioned by Themistius in *Or.* 10.137 b–c: ἐξευρὼν τῆς γῆς ἐκεῖνης λεπτήν ταινίαν ἐς τὸ τέναγος προσιοῦσαν καὶ τελευτῶσαν εἰς ὄχθον ὑψηλόν, ἐξ οὗ πᾶν τὸ περίξ ἄποπτον ἦν, ἐπετείχισε φρούριον ἐκ καινῆς, ἀμυδροῖς τείχεσιν ἀκολουθήσας, ἃ τῶν πρότερον τις αὐτοκρατόρων διὰ μὲν τὸ χρήσιμον κατεβάλετο, πρὸς δὲ τὴν δυσχέρειαν ἀπεῖπεν. (“He (sc. Valens) discovered in that land a narrow peninsula which extended into the lagoon and terminated in a high mound from which the whole surrounding area could be observed. There he raised anew a fort, following a trace of walls which a previous emperor had laid down because of its advantages but had discontinued because of the difficulty involved”, tr. Moncur).

Lenski, 2002, 130 notes: “Ammianus gives us the impression that he [= Valens] remained inactive there all summer, but other sources prove this wrong. He is attested at Tomi (Constantia) in a passage from the ecclesiastical historians that can plausibly be assigned to this year”. In n. 84 he cites as references inter alia *Soz. HE* 6.21.3–6. Lenski further points to Valens’ fortification program along the Danube and elsewhere in this and the following years (p. 130–131 and 375–379). See for the passive meaning of the perfect participle *emensus* in phrases denoting

the passing of time the note ad 22.13.3 and TLL V 2.482.21–43, where it appears that most cases occur in Amm.

unde quia nihil agi potuit dirimente magnitudine fluentorum Marcianopolim ad hiberna discessit This is one of Amm.'s instances of *dirimere* as a synonym of *impedire*; see TLL V 1.1260.25–50 and the note ad 21.13.8 *auspiciis dirimentibus*. Hagendahl, 1921, 28–29 deals with Amm.'s frequent use of poetic *fluentum* in the plural. The phrase *magnitudine fluentorum* also occurs in 24.1.11 and 25.6.13; as is noted ad 22.8.30 *undarum magnitudo*, in these combinations *magnitudo* denotes a huge mass. Marcianopolis was some 90 km south of Dorostorus on the Danube. See for this city the note ad 27.4.12 *dein Mysia*.

- 5.6 *Simili pertinacia tertio quoque anno per Noviodunum navibus transmittendum amnem conexis* In view of the context it is unlikely that *pertinacia* has a negative connotation here: Valens was not obstinate, but persistent, also in the third year of his Gothic war, i.e. in 369. The text in the lemma is inexplicable. Other editors rightly follow Gelenius by adding *ad* before *transmittendum*. The preposition *per* is slightly surprising. Presumably, Amm. means that the troops which were to invade Gothic territory passed 'through' Noviodunum. In Noviodunum (Talbert 22 F3, 23 B3), situated on the site of modern Isaccea in Romania, Valens issued *Cod. Theod.* 10.21.1 and 10.16.2 on 3 July and 5 July 369 respectively. See for this town, mentioned in Ptol. 3.10.2, 5, *Itin. Anton. Aug.* 226.1 and *Not. Dign. Or.* 39.25, 32, 33, e.g. Polaschek, 1937; Barnea, 1988; Baumann, 2004.

perrupto barbarico continuatis itineribus See for *perrumpere*, "to force a way into, to invade" (OLD s.v. 2b) the note ad 21.7.2 *ne Africa*. The adj. *barbaricus* occurs already in Ennius and Pacuvius and can be found throughout Roman literature. It is remarkably frequent in the *Historia Augusta* and Amm. The substantivized form *barbaricum*, 'foreign territory', on the other hand, appears rather late. See Weiler, 1963/1964. It occurs in 17.12.21 and 18.2.14 too; cf. also Eutr. 7.9, 9.4, HA AS 47.1 and *Max* 10.2. The word seems to be attested for the first time in an inscription from Preslav in Bulgaria (*AE* 1991.1378; Sarnowski, 1991), probably to be dated to the third century A.D. and apparently referring to barbarian territory across the Lower Danube. Cf. further *AE* 1998.1139, also found in Bulgaria ("Die Stele dürfte in den mittleren Vierteln des 3. Jh. entstanden sein", Conrad, 2004, 203; cf. Scorpan,

1980, 211), *Cod. Iust.* 4.63.2 (a law of Valens) and especially *ILS* 770, which deals with Valens' *quinquennalia* (for which see above ad 27.5.5 *Anno secuto*). It should be noted, however, that in the latter inscription the reading *in solo barbarico* is restored by conjecture (a very convincing conjecture, at that). Dessau first gave the following reading: [d.n. invictissimus princeps Fl. V]alens victor maximus triumphator / [semper Aug., in fidem recepto rege Athan]arico, victis superatisque Gothis, / [ingruente item in victorias illa]s tempore feliciter quinquennaliorum / [hunc burgum] ob defensionem rei publicae extruxit / etc., but wrote in his *Addenda et Corrigenda* (*ILS* vol. 3, clxxii): "Mentio regis Athanarici sine urgente causa, et vix recte, in hunc titulum inlata. V. 2: [in solo barb]arico supplevit Domaszewskius apud Henricum Scholze de temporibus librorum Themistii (diss. Gott. 1911) p. 35". See for discussion Chastagnol, 1987, 258–261 (who accepts Dessau's palinode).

Presumably 'after uninterrupted marches' expresses that Valens is now determined to enter into combat with the enemy.

longius agentes Greuthungos bellicosam gentem aggressus est postque leviora certamina Athanaricum ea tempestate iudicem potentissimum ausum resistere cum manu, quam sibi crediderit abundare, extremorum metu...coegit in fugam
See for the orthographical variants of the name Greuthungi Ihm, 1912 and for its etymology Wolfram, 2001⁴, 34–36 with the notes ("Steppen- und Griesbewohner"). The fact that Athanaric is mentioned in this context has puzzled some scholars in view of the fact that in 31.3.4 Athanaric (*PLRE* I, Athanaricus; see for the Gothic chief also Wolfram, 1975) is called *Thervingorum* (not *Greuthungorum*) *iudex* and that in Amm. the Greuthungi appear as a political group separated from the Thervingi (the Greuthungi are mentioned by Amm., apart from the present text, in 31.3.1, 3.5, 4.12, 5.3, the Thervingi in 31.3.4, 5.1, 5.8; the Dniester seems to have formed the division between these two Gothic tribes, the Greuthungi living to the east, the Thervingi to the west of this river; Matthews 320). Does Amm. here confuse the two Gothic groups, erroneously making Athanaric into a *iudex* of the Greuthungi instead of the Thervingi (cf. Rolfe and Hamilton: "at that time their most powerful ruler")? Or is the text wrong and should one follow Schmidt, 1941², 232 and others who conjecture *Thervingos* for V's *Greuthungos*? Or does Amm. mean that Athanaric was some sort of "confederate leader" (Thompson, 1966, 43), who, although "ruler of the Thervingi, also exercised hegemony over at least some of the Greuthungi" (Heather-Matthews, 1991, 86 n. 3)? This last

interpretation is definitely better than the alternatives, but perhaps reads more in the text than is warranted. Admittedly, Amm. could have been clearer by using a few additional words, but what he wants to convey is simply this: Valens first attacked the ‘more distant Greuthungi’, who, as he tells his readers later, had their abode near the Don Alans ([Halanorum regiones] *quos Greuthungis confines Tanaitas consuetudo nominavit*, 31.3.1) and then, ‘after some slight struggles’ and presumably on his way back, forced Athanaric, who was a most powerful *iudex* (of the Thervingi of course, as he explains in 31.3.4) to flee for his life. Cf. Wanke, 1990, 103–104; Lenski, 2002, 132. In spite of Valens’ determination, the campaign of the third year resulted again in the flight of the enemy forces, the only difference being that these forces were led by a highly prominent leader, Athanaric. Themistius, if indeed in *Or.* 10.132 c he refers to this campaign (see Heather-Matthews, 1991, 40 n. 82), saw at least one redeeming feature, viz. that Valens had been able to devastate the enemy territory (*ἀνάστατον ποιῆσθαι τὴν πολεμίαν*). See for *iudex* denoting a ruler of a barbarian people the notes ad 20.5.7 *civilis* and 26.10.3 *Gothorum tria*, where it is observed that Heather, 1991, 97–98 discusses the terms *iudex* and *rex* to indicate leaders of the Goths and discerns “two distinct levels of leadership”, *reges* being subordinated to the *iudex*, at least among Athanaric’s Thervingi. Cf. also Wolfram, 1975, 20–31. According to Them. *Or.* 10.134 c Athanaric himself preferred the title *δικαστής* to *βασιλεύς*. Ambr. *spir.* 1 prol. 17 calls him *iudicem regum*. Note the stereotyped contrast of the barbarian’s overestimation of himself and his subsequent fear of the worst, when confronted with Roman forces. “Foreigners and savages...are habitually arrogant until taught their lesson” (Seager 33; see also Brandt, 1999, 218 note 133). Cf. *extrema metuentem* (16.12.1), *extrema metuentibus* (25.6.11). The combination is relatively rare; Suetonius has two instances: *Cal.* 54.2, *Ves.* 4.4.

ipseque cum omnibus suis Marcianopolim rediit ad hiemem agendam ut in illis tractibus habilem Presumably, Valens crossed the Danube on his way back at the same spot as at the start of this year’s campaign, i.e. near Noviodunum. In Marcianopolis (see for Valens’ presence there in the foregoing years the notes ad § 2 and 5) he issued *Cod. Theod.* 10.10.11 on 11 December 369 (*dat. iii id. decemb. marcianopoli valentiniano nb. p. et victore cons.*). Assuming that Seeck’s proposal (1919, 34; cf. Pergami, 1993, 484) to read in *Cod. Theod.* 7.13.2 *dat. prid. kal. feb. marcianopoli valentiniano et valente aa.* <iii> *cons.* is right, the emperor was also in Marcianopolis

on 31 January 370. The phrase ‘with all his men’ probably means that the entire army which had been gathered (27.5.2 *quaesito in unum exercitu*; cf. 27.5.7 *ex principis diuturna permansione*) remained alert and ready to combat the Goths, as soon as the climate would make this possible. The restrictive use of *ut* is treated in Kühner-Stegmann II 452–453 and Szantyr 634. OLD s.v. *ut* 22 provides an excellent definition: “qualifying a judgement by adducing a factor that has to be allowed for”: taking into account the geographic situation of Marcianopolis, it was a suitable place to spend the winter. Amm.’s Roman readers should realize that Moesia was not some exotic paradise.

Aderant post diversos triennii casus finiendi belli materiae tempestivae Note the 5.7
first position of the predicate. There are more examples of *adera(n)t* in such a position in narrative passages to introduce the description of a situation, e.g. *Aderat in senatu Verres pater istius* (Cic. *Ver.* 2.95), *aderat etiam Favonius* (Cic. *Att.* 15.11.1), *aderat sermoni vitricus* (Liv. 39.11.2), *Aderat forte ibi amicus noster* (Gel. 1.7.4). Phrases which do not report the presence of persons are less frequent, but not absent: *Aderat iam annus* (Tac. *Ag.* 42.1), *aderat hora supplicii mei* ([Quint.] *Decl.* 9.21). In all these cases the focus is on the presence of something or someone. The present text could be paraphrased in this way: ‘the availability of opportunities to finish the war was now a fact’. See for *diversos...casus* the note ad 27.1.1 *dum per*. As to *triennii* (i.e. 367–369), once again in this chapter (cf. § 5 *Anno secuto* and § 6 *tertio quoque anno*) Amm. gives fairly precise chronological information, pace Vanderspoel, 1995, 173 n. 64.

prima quod ex principis diuturna permansione metus augebatur hostilis This is Amm.’s only example of *permansio*. TLL X 1.1534.33–44 mentions it among a handful of instances in which the word is used “cum respectu loci”. Obviously, the fear meant here is the opposite of *metus hostilis in bonis artibus civitatem retinebat* (Sal. *Jug.* 41.2). In the present case it was, pace Lenski, 2002, 133–134, the Gothic enemy who felt fear. The imperf. expresses an ongoing process. Lenski argues that in the meantime “the situation in the east continued to grow worse” by a Persian invasion of Armenia, so that “the *Roman* fear of the (eastern) enemy” must be meant by the author. Although this is a perfectly sound argument from the viewpoint of modern research, there is not the slightest reference to the eastern frontier in the context of the present passage. Moreover, in the entire chapter the Goths’ fear of their stronger adversary is continuously stressed in various ways.

dein quod commerciis vetitis ultima necessariorum inopia barbari stringebantur adeo, ut legatos supplices saepe mittentes venialem poscerent pacem Presumably, the embargo had been ordered on Valens' authority; judged by the 'extreme scarcity of indispensable goods' it was being meticulously observed. See in general for the importance of exchange of goods at the frontiers Whittaker, 1994, 98–131. See the note ad 20.11.2 *suis rationibus* on Amm.'s use of *stringere*, 'to bind', 'to hamper'. The Goths were suffering severe shortages, so that they were obliged to beg for peace. Their enforced submissiveness is expressed by *supplices*, *saepe* and *venialis*: they kept sending suppliant envoys to ask for peace 'as a token of pardon'. Themistius agrees with Amm. that Valens turned down several Gothic embassies before granting them peace: βασιλεὺς τῶν μὲν βαρβάρων πολλὰς ἀπέπεμψεν εἰς τοῦπίσω πρεσβείας ἀπράκτους (Or. 10.133 a). Cf. further Zos. 4.11.3 πολλοῦ δὲ πλήθους τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἀπολομένου (i.e. by the headhunt referred to in the note ad § 4 *ne igitur*), περὶ σπονδῶν οἱ λελειμμένοι τοῦ βασιλέως ἐδέοντο. The infrequently used Late Latin adj. *venialis* here denotes that something is being granted as proof of forgiveness; the phrase, which also occurs in 28.5.3, is well rendered by Viansino's "al punto di mandare spesso messaggi che supplicassero di ottenere pace da valere come perdono". In 369 the Roman order seemed still in good condition: Vergil's formula *parcere subiectis et debellare superbos* (A. 6.853) remained unimpaired.

- 5.8 *quibus imperator rudis quidem, verum spectator adhuc aequissimus rerum* See the note on 26.6.8 *et in* for *rudis* denoting a lack of schooling (in 29.1.11 Valens' *verba* are called *horridula... et rudia*) and the note on 25.5.7 *quodsi* for *spectare*, 'to examine', and *spectator*, 'scrutinizer', which suits the present text, too. Whatever the precise meaning of *aequus* in the present text (cf. Brandt, 1999, 295–308 on *aequitas*), the superlative implies unconditional recognition of Valens' sound and unbiased judgement at this stage. In 31.14.2 the emperor is called *provinciarum aequissimus tutor*.

antequam adulationum perniciosus illecebris captus rem publicam funeribus perpetuo deflendis affligeret Amm. is almost scared by his own laudatory words about Valens and hastens to add that these do not detract from the disrepute which he was later deservedly held in (cf. e.g. 29.1.10–11 and 31.14.5–7). Of the twenty-seven instances of *adulari*, *adulator*, *adulatio* twelve each occur in the first and the third hexad of the *Res Gestae* and only five in Books 20–25, and of the 32 cases of *perniciosus* ten

can be found in the first hexad, only seven in Books 20–25, but fifteen in Books 26–31. Although such numbers should be treated with due caution, the comparatively small amount of cases in the Julianic books is a small token of the author’s judgement about Julian’s brief reign, in which poisonous flattery was less prominent at court than in the times of Constantius II; cf. *versabilium adulatorum refragantibus globis* (14.11.2), *magniloquentia elatus adulatorum* (16.12.69), *adulandi professores iam docti* (17.11.1). These times would return under Valens (cf. 29.1.10 [Valens’ feritas] *elata turpi adulatione multorum*), with disastrous results. TLL X 1.1648.57–1649.23 deals with the adverb *perpetuo* “vi temporali”. There is one other instance in Amm. 15.5.23 in a quotation from an (unknown) passage in Cicero: *optatissimum est perpetuo fortunam quam florentissimam permanere*. In the present text it is absolutely essential, as it brings out the contrast between Valens’ temporary good behaviour and the way in which he turned to wicked acts which should never be forgotten.

in commune consultans pacem dare oportere decrevit Cf. Zos. 4.11.4 Τοῦ δὲ (sc. Valens) οὐκ ἀποσεισάμενον τὴν αἵτησιν. See for the phrase *in commune* (OLD s.v. 4 “for the good of all concerned”) *consulere* or *consultare* Ter. *And.* 548 *id oro te in commune ut consulas*, Tac. *Ann.* 12.5.3 *ut domestica cura vacuus in commune consulat*, Plin. *Ep.* 6.16.15 *In commune consultant*. Amm.’s other instances are 14.7.12, 15.8.3, 29.6.3, 31.2.7. Petschenig’s conjecture (1892, 523) *dari* is probably right; cf. 14.10.10 *pacem oportere tribui*, 20.4.6 *attente negotium tractari oportere censebat*, 28.4.26 *necessaria parari oportere iubentes*. On the other hand, TLL IX 2. 739.15–22 does mention some cases of *oportet* with inf. praes. act. and direct object.

In this section the final result of Valens’ three-year campaign against Gothia is described. It ends with a remarkable, if not an amazing, scene in the middle of the river Danube. From § 2 onward the reader has been informed of the Goths’ flights, their fears, their submissive prayers for peace, and the conspicuous Roman superiority. In the present section the successful negotiations are briefly mentioned. However, when a location for the official ratification is discussed, the Gothic leader suddenly puts on airs, and Valens and his advisers are obviously so eager to make hay while the sun shines, that they comply with his refusal to enter Roman territory; they decide that the emperor should be rowed to the decisive meeting in the middle of the river. In a

passage of his 10th *Oration* Themistius provides a highly rhetorical description of the scene, which he had witnessed himself; he saw that ἡ μία ναῦς, ἐφ’ ἧς ὁ βασιλεὺς τὰς σπονδὰς ἐποιήσατο (132 d) was much better than Xerxes’ pontoon bridge for the crossing of the Hellespont.

missique vicissim Victor et Arintheus, qui tunc equestrem curabant militiam et pedestrem, cum propositis condicionibus assentiri Gothos docuissent litteris veris, praestituitur componendae paci conveniens locus Note that Valens ‘in turn’ sent no fewer than two generals to negotiate. The various reparations of V’s defective text resulted in Clark’s text, which is kept by Seyfarth. Marié prefers *qui tunc equestrem militiam agerent et pedestrem*. There is, however, no other example in the *Res Gestae* of *agere militiam*, whereas there is one of *curare*: 18.5.5 *Ursicinus vero curaturus pedestrem militiam*. From Them. *Or.* 10.133 a it has been tentatively concluded that Themistius was also a member of the delegation (cf. Heather-Matthews, 1991, 40 n. 84; Lenski, 2002, 132 n. 100). Amm. remains totally silent on the contents of the ‘conditions which were presented to the Goths’. Them. *Or.* 10.134 c sqq. mentions the end of Roman payments and considerable restrictions on trade. Zos. 4.11.4 reports that the Romans kept everything they already possessed and the Goths were forbidden to cross the Danube into Roman territory. Zosimus is quite positive about these results: ἐγίνοντο σπονδαὶ μὴ καταισχύνουσαι τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀξίωσιν. Cf. Eun. *fr.* 37 (the Gothic war) τῇ δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως ὀξύτητι καὶ προνοίᾳ κατενεχθεῖς ἐπὶ τὸ σταθερὸν καὶ ἀσφαλέστερον (“which was brought by the decisiveness and foresight of the Emperor to a calm and safe conclusion”, tr. Blockley). From now on Valens could call himself *Gothicus maximus* (*ILS* 771; Them. *Or.* 10.140 c). See for further details and a discussion of the significance of the results of Valens’ campaigns e.g. Klein, 1952; Wanke, 1990, 105–110; Heather, 1991, 117–121; Kulikowski, 2007, 116–118 and particularly Lenski, 2002, 135–137. Victor and Arintheus (see for them the notes ad § 1 and 4, respectively) sent a written report about the results of their negotiations. Why does Amm. add that their report was ‘truthful’ (*litteris veris*)? Could one expect anything else from the two distinguished generals? Possibly, Amm. wants to state explicitly to those readers who would point to the subsequent actions of the Goths, that at the time they did accept the conditions; ‘fixing an appropriate place’ for the official ratification proved more difficult.

et quoniam asserebat Athanaricus sub timenda exsecratione iurandi se esse obstrictum mandatisque prohibitum patris, ne solum calcaret aliquando Romanum, et adigi non poterat See for *asserere* denoting an emphatic statement above, the note ad 27.5.1 *qui ut*. The Gothic chieftain did not say that it was beneath his dignity to cross the Danube, but very cleverly pleaded a religious impediment, and his father's interdiction. At that moment the Romans had no answer to such arguments. The term *exsecratio* here has its technical sense "a curse invoked in the event of failure to keep a promise" (OLD s.v. 2). The other cases in Amm. are *facturum se imperanda iurandi exsecratione* (17.10.7), *iurare... sub exsecrationibus diris* (21.5.10, q.v.), *sub exsecrationibus diris in verba iuravere Procopii* (26.7.9, q.v.). With a specific reference to 17.10.7, just quoted, Petschenig, 1892, 523 strongly defends the absence of *iuris*; he succeeded in convincing Seyfarth and Marié. However, *sub consecratione iuris iurandi* (26.6.13, q.v.) causes some reason for doubt. Cf. for *adigere*, '(to put pressure on a person in order) to drive (him) to something' 20.4.14 (about the soldiers at Paris) *eum* (= Julian) *ad se prodire destinatus adigentes*. In 31.4.13 Amm. returns to the present scene, reporting that Athanaric was fully aware that he had treated Valens with contempt, and feared his lasting grudge. See further Lenski, 2002, 126.

indecorumque erat et vile ad eum imperatorem transire Note that in contrast to Athanaric's arguments on the Roman side status and prestige were prohibitive. See the note ad 20.4.15, where it is stressed that *indecorus* is quite a strong term. Here it is strengthened by the addition of *vilis*. See for a telling instance of the colour of this adj. 14.6.22 about the Roman elite: *vile esse, quidquid extra urbis pomerium nascitur, aestimant*. It would be far beneath the dignity of the Roman emperor to cross the river for a meeting with a Gothic chieftain.

recte noscentibus placuit navibus remigio directis in medium flumen, quae vehebant cum armigeris principem gentisque iudicem inde cum suis, foederari, ut statutum est, pacem The phrase *recte noscentibus* also occurs in 22.9.3 and 25.4.4, in different contexts. Nevertheless, in all three cases Amm. notes the correct and sound judgement of the people involved. In the given situation the compromise was a prudent solution. See for the imperial *armigeri* the note ad 24.5.6 *vulnerato armigero*. The phrase *foederare pacem* is not common; see the note ad 24.2.21 *pace foederata*. The use of the perfect tense *statutum est* instead of the pluperfect is probably c.c.

In *Or.* 10.133 b-134 a Themistius describes the scene: the river was perfectly calm, obviously expressing its agreement with the proceedings, and in contrast to Xerxes, who remained under his golden canopy during the naval battle against the Greeks, the emperor stood for the whole of the day in the hot sun: ἐφ' ἡλίῳ σταῖς ἐπὶ τῆς νεώς...ἕξ ἕω μέχρι δέιλης ὀψίας.

The *flumen* of the present text is the Danube, of course. It is sometimes assumed that it was near Noviodunum that the meeting of the Roman emperor and the Gothic leader took place (cf. e.g. the title of Klein's 1952 article, "Der Friedensschluß von Noviodunum", and Lenski's "the treaty of Noviodunum", 2002, 133 n. 101), but it should be noted that the exact spot where Valens' peace with Athanaric was concluded is nowhere mentioned (more on this below). Its date is disputed. Some scholars believe that the peace was concluded in 369, in the summer (e.g. Seeck, 1920-1923²⁻⁴, V, 58; Paschoud n. 125) or in September (Schmidt, 1941², 233; Wolfram, 2001⁴, 77; cf. Lenski, 2002, 133 n. 101), others that it was in January or February 370 (e.g. Seeck, 1919, 239 and Errington, 2000, 902-904; the contention of Burns, 1980, 44 that the treaty was signed in 367 must be a slip). It is precisely Them. *Or.* 10.134 a, just quoted, which is the bone of contention. Was Themistius "carried away by his rhetorical fantasy" when he wrote these words and did he borrow the heat of the sun from Salamis (Errington, 2002, 903)? Or is the Themistian passage an "eyewitness testimony" and is the heat on the day the peace treaty was struck a historical fact (Lenski, 2002, 133 n. 101)?

If we take Themistius' words at face value, a summer date for the peace seems likely enough at first sight. This would imply, however, that the peace treaty was concluded shortly after Valens had ended his 369 campaign against the Greuthingi and Thervingi, while Amm.'s account in 27.5.6-10 suggests that the treaty was signed much later. In view of Amm.'s words "a date before winter 369/70 seems impossible" (Errington, 2000, 902).

We do possess some independent evidence about the movements of Valens in 369-370 (cf. Barnes 251). He was in Noviodunum on July 3-5, 369 (*Cod. Theod.* 10.21.1; 10.16.2), in Marcianopolis on 11 December 369 (*Cod. Theod.* 10.10.11) and also on 31 January 370 (*Cod. Theod.* 7.13.2, with Seeck's correction; cf. the note ad § 6 *ipseque*). In between the last two dates he visited Constantinople, where his presence on 29 December 369 is attested by *Cod. Theod.* 5.1.2. Before 9 April 370 he was back again in Constantinople (*Consul. Constant.* a. 370). According to Zos.

4.11.4 Valens returned to Constantinople ‘after he had concluded the peace’ (ταύτην ποιησάμενος τὴν εἰρήνην εἰς τὴν Κωνσταντινούπολιν ἀφικνεῖται). From Constantinople he then moved to Antioch via Nicomedia (Socr. *HE* 4.14.1; Soz. *HE* 6.13.1–3) to face Sapor’s interference in Armenia. How do these data relate to the testimonies of Themistius and Ammianus, respectively?

It seems natural to assume that Valens stayed in Noviodunum on 3–5 July, at the beginning, not at the end of his third campaign, for, as Elton, 1996, 236 notes, “the campaigning season usually started only when the spring wheat had been collected and once the roads had had a chance to dry out from the spring rains and grass to grow for fodder. In Gaul and on the Danube this was July”. In fact, the real start of the campaign must have been somewhat earlier (in June, that is), for it took some time to march the approximately 300 km from Marcianopolis, where Valens had spent the winter, to Noviodunum, where he crossed the Danube (in 367 the emperor had left his winter quarters in Marcianopolis after 30 May; see the note ad § 2 *pubescente vere*). It is not known how much time the Roman army needed to march through barbarian territory on the other side of the Danube, fight against the *longius agentes* Greuthungi and force the Thervingi of Athanaric to flee (§ 6, q.v.), but, if the army had indeed set out from Noviodunum in July, a date in the autumn of 369 to be back there again seems more likely than a date in the heat of the summer. In itself, however, the mere assumption that Valens was back in Noviodunum in the autumn does not disprove the theory that the peace was concluded immediately after Valens’ return. Hot, sunny days also occur in September and October. But it is the rest of the chronological evidence which seems to make this unlikely. Why was Valens still in his winter quarters in Marcianopolis in December 369 and in January 370? Why, if the war was already over in the autumn of 369, did he not go to Constantinople rightaway (as Zosimus suggests) and stay there instead of spending another winter in Thrace?

The evidence furnished by the Theodosian Code and Zosimus harmonizes better with Amm.’s account. Taken together, these data lead to the following chronological reconstruction: Valens, who had spent the winter of 368/369 in Marcianopolis (27.5.5), began his third campaign there, presumably in June 369. He crossed the Danube near Noviodunum after 5 July (27.5.6; *Cod. Theod.* 10.16.2) and fought against the Greuthungi and Thervingi (27.5.6). He returned from the *barbaricum*, presumably in the autumn of 369, and went back to Marcianopolis to

spend the winter there (27.5.6). While he was in his winter quarters, he sent Victor and Arintheus across the Danube to open negotiations with Athanaric (27.5.9). That he really was in Marcianopolis during the wintermonths is attested by *Cod. Theod.* 10.10.11 and 7.13.2 of 11 December 369 and 31 January 370, respectively, but he interrupted his stay there for a trip to Constantinople (*Cod. Theod.* 5.1.2; cf. Pergami, 1993, 476–477 and Errington, 2000, 902–903) – the capital lay at a distance of some 400 km from Marcianopolis and so there must have been an important reason to undertake this journey, most probably the fact that he entered upon his third consulship on 1 January 370 (Errington, 2000, 904; cf. Bagnall et al., 1987, 274–275). On 31 January 370 he was back in Marcianopolis. It would seem that some time after that date the peace with Athanaric was concluded, i.e. in February or March 370 – we must assume that the Danube was not frozen over at the time. *Hocque composito et acceptis obsidibus Valens Constantinopolim redit* (cf. Zos. 4.11.4, quoted above). He arrived in Constantinople before 9 April 370 (*Consul. Constant.* a. 370).

As was stated at the beginning of this note, Valens' peace with Athanaric is sometimes called 'the peace of Noviodunum'. This designation rests on two assumptions: the first is that the Roman army in 369 crossed the Danube on the way back at the same spot as on the way out, the second that the peace was concluded immediately after Valens' return from barbarian territory. The first assumption seems a fair guess, the second, as is argued above, should be rejected. Therefore, if our reasoning is right and if, in other words, it is correct to date the peace in February or March 370 and not in the summer of 369, it is less than likely that it was concluded near Noviodunum, which lay at a distance of some 300 km away from Valens' winter quarters in Marcianopolis. The emperor could have reached the Danube nearer to Marcianopolis, for instance in the neighbourhood of Dorostorus, some 90 km away.

After Napoleon had defeated the Russian army at Friedland, he took a leaf out of Valens' book. The emperor of the French and czar Alexander met on a raft in the Nemen (Memel) River. The result of their conversations was the treaty of Tilsit of July 1807 (Wanke, 1990, 105 n. 95; Palmer, 1978⁵, 386–387). Some other parallels: Artabanus and Vitellius held negotiations on a bridge over the Euphrates (J. *A7* 18.102). For the parley of Civilis and Cerialis *scinditur Nabaliae fluminis pons, in cuius abrupta progressi duces* (Tac. *Hist.* 5.26.1). According to Vell. 2.101.1 Gaius Caesar (Caligula) met a Parthian king on an island in the

Euphrates. When Valentinian and the Alamannic chieftain Macrianus reached an agreement near Mogontiacum (30.3.4–5), Macrianus stood on the bank of the Rhine, the Roman emperor and his retinue were on board of some boats in the river.

hocque composito et acceptis obsidibus Valens Constantinopolim redit, ubi postea Athanaricus proximorum factione genitalibus terris expulsus fatali sorte decessit et ambitiosis exsequiis ritu sepultus est nostro Cf. *His ut in re tali tamque urgenti compositis* (21.10.5), *post haec ita composita* (25.7.12). In the former instance Amm. refers to the military measures taken by Julian at the Succus pass, in the second case the treaty between Jovian and Sapor is referred to. Both meanings of *componere* are feasible here. The parallel words of Zos. 4.11.4, ἐγίνοντο σπονδαὶ μὴ καταισχύνοῦσαι are unequivocal. Valens' presence in Constantinople on 9 April 370 is attested by *Consul. Constant. a. 370*.

Amm. concludes the chapter with two very brief glimpses of Athanaric's future experiences. In 376 he failed to organize the resistance against the Huns, and the greater part of his people *Athanaricum attenuata necessariorum penuria deseruerat*, 'weakened by the lack of the necessities of life, had left him' (Amm. 31.3.8). However, Amm. probably does not refer to this situation, but to what happened in 381 according to Zosimus 4.34.3–4: the Goths decided Ἀθανάριχον παντὸς τοῦ βασιλείου τῶν Σκυθῶν ἄρχοντα γένους ἐκποδὼν ποιήσασθαι 'to get rid of Athanaric, the head of the entire royal family of the Scyths'. The emperor Theodosius then received him graciously in Constantinople and, when he died shortly afterwards, ταφῇ βασιλικῇ περιέστειλε, 'gave him a royal burial' (4.34.4, cf. 5). The dates, 11 and 25 January 381, are provided by *Consul. Constant., a. 381: His* (Syagrius and Eucherius) *conss. ingressus est Aithanaricus rex Gothorum Constantinopolim die III id. Ian. Eodem mense diem functus idem Aithanaricus VIII Kal. Feb.* Zosimus' information, which was already referred to by Lindenbrog and Valesius, is quite helpful to understand Amm.'s succinct phrases. Cf. Paschoud (n. 167), who discusses other evidence, such as Socr. *HE* 4.33; Soz. *HE* 6.37.6, 12–14; Iord. *Get.* 142–145; Oros. *hist.* 7.34.6–7 ("les sources sont contradictoires et ambiguës"), and further remarks inter alia: "la narration des faits chez Zosime n'est... pas aussi inconciliable avec le récit d'Ammien qu'il (= Schmidt, 1941², 260, 418) le pense". Ambrose refers to the events in *spir.* 1 prol. 17. See also Heather, 1991, 334–340. In all of Amm.'s eleven instances *factio* is a negative term; it is e.g. used about Procopius' usurpation in 26.6.5, 26.7.8 and 26.8.10.

Cf. for *fatali sorte decessit* denoting natural death *fatali decesserat sorte* (17.11.5), *fatali praeventus est morte* (25.10.16, q.v.). The phrase *fatali sorte* is not superfluous; the words *factione...expulsus* could cause the reader to suppose that Athanaric's sudden death was, in fact, murder. The style of the funeral was not Gothic, but 'in accordance with our customs'. In death the Gothic leader was finally romanized.

CHAPTER 6

Introduction

The central event reported in this chapter is the nomination of Valentinian's eight-year-old son Gratian as Augustus on August 24, 367, with the full assent of the army. Valentinian made the decision to raise the young prince to imperial power after he had recovered from a very severe illness, which had caused considerable concern among his staff and soldiers. Ammianus does not state whether his illness, and the potential problem of his succession, inspired the idea as such or hastened the implementation of a previously formed plan. The contents of the chapter favour the latter assumption. Ammianus does not merely describe the well organized and perfectly directed ceremony, but he also gives the floor to the emperor for two short, but carefully constructed speeches. In these Valentinian does not only present Gratian as his personal successor, but above all as a member of a dynasty, which has as its residence the whole of the Roman Empire. The division into a western and an eastern zone three years before had obviously been a practical measure; it did not signify a partition of the empire. Therefore Gratian is destined for a career both in West and East. If Valentinian was aware of any plans at the eastern court concerning a similar nomination of Valens' baby son in the near future, he simply ignored these. In any case, the dynastic policy as ascribed to Valentinian by Ammianus can hardly have been inspired purely by the emperor's illness. If the historian is right, such a policy must have matured in his mind long before. He may have taken into account that the usurper Procopius had repeatedly tried to strengthen his position by referring to his relationship with the Constantinian dynasty.

In the first three sections Amm. deals with speculations among some of the Gallic members of the imperial staff concerning the succession of the severely ill Valentinian. In the end these speculations came to nothing (*cogitantur in cassum* in § 4). The passage is, however, quite functional: it adds emphasis to the gravity of Valentinian's illness, poses the problem of his succession, specifically in view of the interests of Gaul, endangered by Alamannic aggression, and thus prepares the

6.1

ground for the nomination of young Gratian as described in the rest of the chapter. Moreover, the author wants to provide a glimpse of the unpleasant men which were evidently regarded as fit to succeed Valentinian.

Inter haec Valentiniano magnitudine quassato morborum agitanteque extrema ‘Meanwhile’, directly followed by the name of the western emperor, signals the return to the western half of the Roman empire, where most actions, reported in book 27, take place. Amm. had abandoned his description of events in Gaul in the summer of 366; see the note ad 27.2.10 *Ei post haec*. He does not deal with the events in Gaul of the year between the summers of 366 and 367.

Amm. strongly emphasizes the life-threatening character of Valentinian’s disease. In § 4 he will return to this by mentioning the large variety of cures which were necessary to save his life. This is the second time during his reign that Valentinian was seriously ill. The first time was shortly after he had appointed his brother Valens as co-Augustus on 28 March 364 (26.4.4 with note *constricti rapidis*). Usually Amm. is not specific about illnesses of emperors; see e.g. 21.15.2 *leviore feбри*, q.v. Cf. for the present text phrases like 16.7.10 *filiam...vexatam asperitate morborum*, 21.15.2 (about Constantius) *illabente morbi gravitate detentus est* (q.v.), 28.1.9 *ob diuturnam morborum asperitatem* and the description of Valentinian’s last moments: *sensit immensa vi quadam urgente morborum ultimae necessitatis adesse praescripta* (30.6.6). See for *quassare* in phrases denoting disease or ill health the note ad 24.3.9 *sic sub iugum*. There is no parallel for the remarkable phrase *agitare extrema*, which obviously means ‘to be in peril of death’. TLL I 1338.21–22 may therefore be right in incorporating the phrase in the category “aevum agitare sim.”

The sources do not reveal where and when exactly in 367 Valentinian suffered from this illness. Because the terminus ante quem is Gratian’s *dies imperii* on 24 August and Valentinian had fallen ill not long before that, as may be concluded from § 4, there are several possibilities. It could have happened in June when he was in Rheims (*Cod. Theod.* 13.10.5, cf. Seeck, 1919, 230), at the end of July/early August in *Nemetacum*, modern Arras, where he is probably attested to be on 4 August (*Cod. Theod.* 12.7.3; cf., however, Pergami, 1993, 334 who dates this law in 366; *Nemetacum* is a conjectural reading for *Nemasia*), or, as is assumed by e.g. Curran, 1998, 83, later in August in Amiens where he is attested to have arrived before 18 August (*Cod. Theod.* 8.14.1). Given the fact that the illness was serious, and that it must have taken some time

for the emperor to recover, it is perhaps more likely that he became ill earlier in the summer rather than in August when he was in Amiens. Zosimus (4.12.2) also mentions Valentinian's serious illness but, like Amm., he does not offer more details: Οὐαλεντινιανῶ δὲ τῷ βασιλεῖ νόσος ἐνέσκηψεν, ἥτις αὐτὸν παρὰ βραχὺ τοῦ βίου μετέστησεν.

convivio occultiore Gallorum, qui aderant in commilitio principis, ad imperium Rusticus Iulianus tunc magister memoriae poscebatur “Equidem si conjecturae indulgere licet, libentius legerem *consilio occult. Gallorum*” (Valesius). Apart from being nearer to V's *conuii*, Gelenius' *convivio* seems to suit the informal character of the meeting much better. Cf. for other *convivia*, where military and political matters were discussed, 15.3.7: during a dinner given by a provincial governor some participants *imperium praesens ut molestissimum incusabant*, 20.4.13: the leaders of the Gauls who were to be transferred to the eastern front, were invited to dinner by Julian: *ad convivium proceribus corrogatis*; see the relevant notes ad loc. In the present text the qualification *occultiore* characterizes the dinner as part of a conspiracy; cf. *occultis saepe colloquiis cum Tamsapore habitis* (18.5.3) and Fabricius Luscinus, who rejected king Pyrrhus' attendant *colloquio occultiore pollicitum, quod Pyrrhum...veneno poculis necabit infectis* (30.1.22). Maybe the Gauls bonded at Valentinian's court and looked for a successor favourable to them just as they had also done immediately after the death of Julian, when the latter's succession was being discussed; *Nevitta et Dagalaifus proceresque Gallorum virum talem ex commilitio suo quaeritabant* (25.5.2, q.v.). Based on the passage under discussion several scholars suppose that a Gallic faction existed at the imperial court; Matthews 272; Sivan, 1993, 99–100 and Curran, 1998, 83 (“A clique of Gallic officers was known to favour Rusticus Julianus...but they were vigorously opposed by the supporters of the *magister peditum* Severus”). Amm. does not reveal the names of these Gauls. Matthews 273 supposes that Ausonius, who is noticeably absent in Amm.'s *Res Gestae*, may have been among them: “The prominence of Gauls under Valentinian, symbolised if not led by Ausonius...”. According to Raimondi, 2001, 143–145 Dagalaifus (who was of Germanic descent; see the note ad 21.8.1), Iovinus, Remigius and also Ausonius could have belonged to such a faction, if there ever was one. Raimondi is the only one who in a long exposé (p. 141–160) raises serious doubts about the existence of a Gallic clique, for which, according to her, there are no clear indications in Amm., our only source for this (“Elementi concreti per individuare l'esistenza di una consistente e definita opposizione

gallica interna a Valentiniano...non ve ne sono", p. 148). However, Amm.'s words *convivio occultiore Gallorum* make it hard to believe that there was not some sort of Gallic cabal, but this was probably not a Gallic opposition against Valentinian, but rather reflected the concern of people close to the emperor, who wanted a successor to be at hand if Valentinian should die. The circumstances – revolt in Britain, the Alamannic threat, Valens occupied in the East in a war against the Goths – did not allow for an interregnum. By explicitly mentioning the Gauls Amm. emphasized their importance and influence in the emperor's *commilitum*, but the fact that they put Sextus Rusticus Iulianus forward as a candidate should not per se be seen as a Gallic bid for power.

See for Rusticus Iulianus *PLRE* I, Iulianus 37; Stroheker, 1948, 210–211. According to Chastagnol, 1960, 441 he was a provincial, "peut-être un Gaulois"; Drinkwater, 1987, 254 also considers him a "likely Gallic imperial politician". Rusticus was a common name in Gaul (Raimondi, 2001, 158). Under Valentinian he served as *magister memoriae* and *proconsul Africae*. Although Amm.'s text suggests that he held the latter office before he became *magister memoriae*, he was *proconsul Africae* in the years 371–373. After he had stepped down as proconsul of Africa nothing is heard of him until he became prefect of Rome in 387–388; Chastagnol, 1962, 230–232. The *magister memoriae*, the master of the rolls, was head of the *scrinium memoriae*, one of the three secretarial departments at the imperial court (the other two being the *libelli* and *epistulae*). The *magister memoriae* wrote rescripts (*adnotationes*); replies (*memoriales*) to legal petitions (*preces*) addressed to the emperor were drafted by the *magister memoriae* or his clerks and submitted to the emperor for his signature, at least when these petitions raised no issues of principle; *Not. Dign. Occ.* 17.11 *Magister memoriae annotationes omnes dictat, et emittit; respondet tamen et precibus*; Jones 367–368, 504–505. The office is mentioned by Amm. in 15.5.4 *Aedesio ex magistro memoriae* (with De Jonge's note). Soon after Valentinian's recovery Iulianus must have been deposed as master of the rolls, probably as a consequence of his being named as Valentinian's successor (Marié n. 230), since at Gratian's acclamation as Augustus on 24 August 367 Eupraxius is mentioned as *magister memoriae*; *Eupraxius...magister ea tempestate memoriae* (27.6.14); Stroheker, 1948, 211 ("Unmittelbar darauf scheint er [Rusticus Iulianus] in seinem Amte durch Eupraxius ersetzt worden zu sein, der es schon Ende August 367 innehatte").

As is pointed out ad 20.2.1 *commilitum principis*, this term denotes the emperor's court. See for *poscere* with a person as Patiens, 'to demand that someone assumes a function', TLL X 2.75.5–11; some examples: *plerosque pacis spes inpellit uti... Marium imperatorem poscant* (Sal. *Jug.* 65.4), *res publica ab Augusto ducem in bellum poposcit Tiberium* (Vell. 2.111.2), *effectumque, ut palam Philippus ad imperium posceretur* (HA *Gd* 29.5).

quasi afflatu quodam furoris bestiarum more humani sanguinis avidus, ut ostenderat, cum proconsulari potestate regeret Africam The imperial candidate is in the bad company of the Alamans: *velut quodam furoris affectu opposita omnia deleturi* (16.12.46). In both cases the phrase is borrowed from Cic. *de Orat.* 2.194 *sine quodam adflatu quasi furoris*, in an entirely different context, viz. about true poets. Clark and Galletier-Fontaine understandably accept Bentley's *afflatu* in 16.12.46, as did Seyfarth in his bilingual edition; in the Teubneriana, however, he is obviously persuaded by note 350 in Galletier-Fontaine, in which it is pointed out why V's *adfectu* might be correct.

See for *bestiarum more* the list of 'animal images' in Blockley, 1975, 183. Such images become more frequent in Amm.'s third hexad, one of the signs of the growing inhumanity during the Pannonian emperors' reign. See for this Den Boeft, 2007, 296 (with some additions to Blockley's list in note 8). Bloodthirstiness is a vice which is mentioned by many Roman authors, most often by Seneca, e.g. *Ben.* 4.31.2: why did Providence appoint Caesar as ruler of the world, *hominem sanguinis humani avidissimum?*, *Cl.* 1.12.2 about Sulla: *quis tamen umquam tyrannus tam avidè humanum sanguinem bibit quam ille?*, *De ira* 2.5.1 *ii qui vulgo saeviunt et sanguine humano gaudent*. In the *Res Gestae* Rusticus Iulianus has the horrible Pannonian *notarius* Leo as a rival for this vice: *humani sanguinis avidissimum* (28.1.12).

Iulianus was proconsul of Africa in the years 371–373; Pallu de Lessert, 1901, 75–78; Barnes, 1985, 150 and 273. *Cod. Theod.* 15.7.2 (6 Sept. 371), 8.7.12 (30 May 372) and 16.6.1 (20 Febr. 373) were addressed to him in this capacity. Only two of the former proconsulates remained after Diocletian's administrative reforms: those of Asia and Africa; Jones 45, 143, 385–386; Demandt, 2007², 297; also note ad 26.8.12 *Hor-misdae*. Under Constantine Achaea was added as a third proconsulate; Jones 106–107. In the civil administration proconsulates, a position for men of senatorial status, ranked second after praetorian and urban prefectures. Iulianus was not of senatorial origin, as Symmachus mentions in his *Oratio pro Synesio*, an oration in honour of Iulianus' son

(*Pater huic iuveni est iamdiu adscitus senator, quae res de meritis venit, siquidem dignitas innata felicitatis est, delata virtutum*; 7.4). Since Iulianus as *magister memoriae* was *eo ipso* a *vir clarissimus*, he must have achieved senatorial rank before or when he received this position. As *proconsul Africae* he was succeeded by Symmachus the orator.

At first sight Marié seems entirely right in noting that Amm. assumes that Rusticus Iulianus had been proconsul of Africa before 367, which would be a glaring and, moreover, an improbable mistake, because he held this post from 371 to 373. However, the pluperfect *ostenderat* may not be related to the events in 367, which Amm. is reporting, but to the perception of the Roman readers, who knew the man from his term as *praefectus urbis* in 387–388, and were taken by surprise by the unfavourable description which they were unable to reconcile with their own experiences. Before this, however, he ‘had shown’ his horrible character in Africa. This interpretation is inspired by the use of *enim* in § 2, by which particle the memory of these readers is jogged.

- 6.2 *in praefectura enim urbana, quam adhuc administrans exstinctus est, tempus anceps metuens tyrannidis, cuius arbitrio tamquam inter dignorum inopiam ad id escenderat columen, lenis videri cogeatur et mollior* Amm.’s Roman readers may have been surprised at the negative judgement about Rusticus Iulianus, who had functioned quite satisfactorily during his *praefectura*. With *enim* the author now appeals to their understanding of the reasons for this: fear had such a salutary influence on his conduct that he even made a friendly impression; see also OLD s.v. *enim* 6. Cf. for *administrare* as a t.t. *administrante secundam adhuc Orfito praefecturam* (17.4.1), *Tertullo administrante adhuc praefecturam* (21.10.7), *hoc administrante* (21.12.24). Iulianus was prefect of Rome in 387–388; Chastagnol, 1960, 440–441; 1962, 230–232. He was a rich man; Symm. *Or.* 7.6. Symmachus and Iulianus had close relations which may go back to the end of the 360s when the two became acquainted, possibly through Ausonius, at Valentinian’s court in Trier; Matthews 273; Pabst, 1989, 285; Raimondi, 2001, 138–140. Nine letters written by Symmachus to Iulianus (*Ep.* 3.1–9) have been preserved. The defeat of Magnus Maximus, to whom Iulianus owed the city prefecture, by Theodosius I in 388, may have caused the fall of Iulianus.

As to *tempus anceps metuens tyrannidis*, Rusticus Iulianus’ *praefectura* coincided with the last, ‘uncertain’, phase of Magnus Maximus’ *tyrannis* (383–388), whose name is not mentioned. Passing over the names of usurpers in silence is the rule in panegyrical texts. In his historical

reports Amm. could not omit the names of Silvanus and Procopius, but the mere reference in the present text did not require the addition of a name; see Neri, 1997, 84. The note ad 27.5.1 *quam ob causam* deals with *tyrannis* denoting the reign of a usurper. In view of *arbitrio*, a term which is normally used about a person, *tyrannis* can be regarded as a case of ‘abstractum pro concreto’. In the spring of 383, possibly as *comes Britanniarum*, Magnus Maximus had usurped power and was acclaimed Augustus by his troops; *PLRE* I, Maximus 39; Kienast, 1996², 341–342. Somewhat later in the year Gratian’s legions went over to him in Paris; Elbern, 1984, 29–31. Gratian was executed on 25 August 383. He came from Spain and had served under the elder Theodosius in Africa and Britain; 29.5.6, 21; Zos. 4.35.3. Matthews, 1975, 173–182; Matthews 9, 273.

It is not easy to pinpoint the precise modification intended by *tamquam*; the text would be perfectly understandable without it, so that its presence is meant to add some colour. It could be part of the reflections of Rusticus Iulianus himself: ‘realizing that he owed his rise to etc.’ or authorial: ‘as things are wont to go in case of etc.’. Cf. for *inopia* denoting the lack of persons Cic. *Ver.* 3.166 *propter inopiam testium*, Sal. *Jug.* 86.3 *inopia bonorum*, Liv. 23.3.10 *inopia potioris subiciundi*. Referring to 20.5.3 *Caesarem...ad potestatum omnium columen sustulisti* (q.v.), Petschenig, 1892, 523 argues that *columen* is preferable to *culmen* here. Gronovius’ conjecture *escenderat* for V’s *discenderat* has convinced the various editors. Amm. uses the verb about boarding a ship in 16.12.58 *escensis navigiis*, 21.9.2, 26.8.12, and about the *tribunal* in 26.6.18, 27.3.1, 27.6.5; in the last case it is also an emendation of Gronovius. The present text is Amm.’s only instance of a transferred use; examples of this can be found in TLL V 2.857.73–858.5. However, in nearly all the cases mentioned there the text is uncertain, in contrast to the longer list of instances of *ascendere* in a transferred sense in TLL II 757.45 sqq. Gelenius’ *ascenderat* may therefore be right. Cf. for *lenis* as a positive quality of a ruler 23.6.3 about Arsaces: *arbiter lenis*; in 24.2.21 the inhabitants of Pirisabora called Julian *Caesarem magnum et lenem*. A comparable case of *mollior* is 28.1.7 about the nasty upstart Maximinus: *timens ne proderetur, tractabilis erat et mollior*, where the adj. is a synonym of *mitis* or *placidus* and not the equivalent of *iners*, as in 25.5.8 *inertem quendam et mollem*.

contra hos nitebantur aliqui studiis altioribus in favorem Severi magistri tunc peditem ut apti ad hoc impetrandum The author probably means that Severus’

nomination was also advocated during the secret dinner of the Gauls (§ 1); otherwise he would have written *alii* instead of *aliqui*; these are singled out to distinguish them from the majority, which is the not expressed Agents of *poscebatur* in § 1. See for *niti*, “to strive” in a ‘political’ sense OLD s.v. 7b and c, e.g. Tac. *Hist.* 1.55.4 *nullo legatorum tribunorumve pro Galba nitente*, Cic. *Sest.* 103 *nitebantur contra optumates*. Translators do not agree about the meaning of the curious phrase *studiis altioribus*. There can be no doubt that *studia altiora* here does not mean the same as in Tac. *Hist.* 4.5.1 *ingenium inlustre altioribus studiis iuvenis admodum dedit*; cf. also Plin. *Ep.* 5.16.8, Suet. *Gram.* 21.1. In these passages it denotes a form of higher education. Some translators assume that a bigger effort is meant, e.g. “con impegno più elevato” (Caltabiano), others concentrate on the reason for their sympathy: e.g. “with higher aims” (Rolfé and Hamilton). Marié’s “avec une sympathie assez décidée” is, however, the most likely solution; cf. for such a meaning of *studium* 22.9.1 *studiis miris accendebantur*, 25.5.2 *discissique studiis turbulentis*, 27.3.12 *scissis studiis asperrime conflictabant* (q.v.). Cf. for *altiore* the phrase *altiore cura*, ‘with considerable care’, in 29.5.46 and 30.10.4.

See for Severus, who was *magister peditum* at the time, *PLRE* I, Severus 10. He is also mentioned in 27.10.6 (*Iovino et Severo, magistris rei castrensis*), 28.5.2 (*peditum magister Severus*) as well as in 29.4.3 (*Severus, qui pedestrem curabat exercitum*). However, in 27.8.2 a Severus is mentioned as *comes domesticorum* (*Severum etiam tum domesticorum comitem*) who was sent to Britain to deal with the troubles there. According to Ensslin, 1931, 124 Severus the *magister peditum* and Severus the *comes domesticorum* are one and the same person; the *PLRE* and Chiabò also assume that they are the same. He would have been *comes domesticorum* in the years 364–367 (the first date being based on *Cod. Theod.* 6.24.2–3) and *magister peditum* from 367 until 372. Ensslin argues that shortly before Gratian’s nomination as Augustus, Severus had become *magister peditum*; earlier he had been *comes domesticorum* and as such active in Britain. Based on the information provided by Amm. this is problematic since it is only in 27.8.1 that Amm. reports that Valentinian heard about the uprisings in Britain, the so-called ‘barbarian conspiracy’, that is, after he had already related in chapter 6 that Valentinian had made his son co-Augustus (24 August 367): *Profectus itaque ab Ambianis Treverosque festinans nuntio percellitur gravi, qui Britannias indicabat barbarica conspiratione ad ultimam vexatas inopiam*. Should we therefore assume with Demandt, 1970, 592 and 1972, 85–86 that we are dealing with two different Severi? As Tomlin, 1974 convincingly argues, that is improbable, inter alia

because Amm. does not hint at the coincidence that Valentinian had a *comes domesticorum* and a *magister peditum* both called Severus. According to Tomlin Amm.'s information about Severus' ranks is correct: he was *magister peditum* at the time (*tunc*) of Valentinian's illness, which probably should be dated in July/August 367, and still (*etiam*) *comes domesticorum* when he was sent to Britain, most likely in June 367. However, Amm. confused the chronological order of the events; see further the note ad 27.8.2 *Profectus*. As *magister peditum* Severus was one of the highest officials at the imperial court and therefore a likely candidate for succession should Valentinian not recover from his illness. For the office of *magister peditum* see the note ad 20.2.1 *peditum magistrum*.

Severus was not put forward as a candidate for the emperorship by Pannonians in opposition to the imperial candidate of the Gallic cabal; no such opposition is attested and is therefore most doubtful; Raimondi, 2001, 142–143. He was probably supported by other officers, because he was a military man and not a civil official like Iulianus.

qui, licet asper esset et formidatus, tolerabilior tamen fuit et praeferendus modis omnibus ante dicto Cf. other combinations of *asper* and another adj. in 14.10.4 *asperum saepe et saevum*, 26.1.4 *asper et subagrestis*, 31.14.2 *asper et vehemens*. In these cases the second adj. states the specific form of *asperitas* more precisely; see further Seager 20–22 and the note ad 24.3.8 *Hac modesta*. Cf. 15.13.2 *tolerabilisque provinciis*, 28.1.40 *uno quasi praecipuo tolerabilis*, “endurable in what may be called one special thing” (tr. Rolfe), 30.8.4 *tolerabilem...et verecundum*. The more usual order of words is *omnibus modis*, but the present text is paralleled by Amm.'s other instances of the phrase: 17.9.1, 21.1.1, 30.13.6. Amm. has an idiosyncratic predilection for adjectival or substantivized *ante dictus*, which in other authors is quite rare in contrast to the very common phrase *ut dictum est*. Some examples: 20.1.3 *dux ante dictus*, 21.12.18 *casibus ante dictis*, 23.6.71 *Ante dictis continui sunt Drangiani*, 26.5.2 *iudicio principis ante dicti*.

Sed dum haec cogitantur in cassum, imperator remediis multiplicibus recreatus In 6.4 four cases Seyfarth prints *incassum*: 14.2.9, 14.11.26, 15.5.8, 20.7.8 (q.v.), the ten other instances are spelled in two words. It would have been better to unify the spelling. In the *Res Gestae* the word *remedium* is often used with a transferred meaning, e.g. 15.10.4 *idque remedium ad arcendum exitium reperimentum est solum*, 21.12.16 *sollerti remedio turbatis consuluit rebus*. However, instances of the ‘medical’ meaning do occur, cf. 19.12.14

remedia quartanae vel doloris alterius, 29.2.28 *ad stomachi remedium*. As was already stated above, in the note ad 27.2.5 *et vallo*, Amm. uses the verb *recreare* to describe that the soldiers ‘recovered’ from fatigue: e.g. 14.2.12 *victu recreati et quiete*, 17.13.34 *otioque bidui recreatus*. The present text is only paralleled by the soldiers’ mistaken illusion in 25.5.6 *Iulianum re-creatum arbitrati sunt*. As is noted ad 21.6.6 *multiplicisque*, Amm. has a great liking for this adj. Here it is entirely functional, once more expressing the seriousness of Valentinian’s disease, which could only be cured ‘by a large variety of medical cures’. Gaul at this time is known to have had famous medics, among them Iulius Ausonius (*PLRE* I, Ausonius 5), the father of the poet (*PLRE* I, Ausonius 7). The best known is Vindicianus, *comes archiattrorum* in 379 and *proconsul Africae* in 379–382 under Gratian, but already functioning as a doctor at the imperial court in the time of Valentinian; *PLRE* I, Vindicianus 2; Matthews, 1975, 71–73; Raimondi, 2001, 150–151.

vixque se mortis periculo contemplans extractum Gratianum filium suum adulto iam proximum insignibus principatus ornare meditabatur See TLL V 2.2064.44 sqq. for a list of instances of *extrahere* in phrases describing people being brought to safety or liberated. Amm. combines it with *periculo* in 15.4.8 and 18.6.16, with *periculo mortis* in 17.13.13 and 29.6.14; cf. also 25.8.3 *discrimine per difficiles casus extracti* (q.v.). In his report the author calls Gratian ‘very near maturity’ and a ‘boy’ (*puerum* in § 5), but *adultum* (§ 8) without modification in Valentinian’s speech. The phrase *insignia principatus* also occurs in 14.11.3 and 20.4.8 (q.v.); variations can be found in 26.7.10 *habitus insignia principalis*, 27.6.6 *hunc loci principalis... habitum*, 31.12.10 *principalis fortunae insignia*, 31.15.2 *fortunae principalis insignia*. Note that Valentinian as yet ‘was contemplating’ (*meditabatur* in the imperfect tense) the investiture of Gratian. His conclusion and decision are implied in the words *destinatum imperatorem* in § 5, and only after securing the soldiers’ assent he carried out this decision (§ 11).

According to Zosimus (4.12.2) Valentinian’s courtiers urged him to name his successor; persuaded by them he nominated his son Gratian: ἐπεὶ δὲ ταύτην διέφυγε, συνελθόντες οἱ περὶ τὰ βασιλεία λόγον αὐτὸν ποιήσασθαι παρεκάλουν τοῦ διαδεξιμένου τὴν βασιλείαν, ὥς ἂν μή τις αὐτῷ συμβαίνοντος σφραλεῖ τὰ τῆς πολιτείας· πεισθεὶς δὲ τούτοις ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῖς λόγοις ἀνείπε τὸν παῖδα Γρατιανὸν βασιλέα καὶ κοινωνὸν τῆς ἀρχῆς, ὄντα νέον ἔτι καὶ οὐπω πρὸς ἡβὴν ἐλθόντα τελείαν (“On his recovery, his courtiers gathered round him and urged him to declare his successor, to prevent a political crisis if anything happened

to him. Thus persuaded, the emperor declared his son, Gratian, co-emperor in spite of the fact that he was young and had not even reached adolescence”; tr. Ridley – slightly adapted). *Epit.* 45.4 reports that he made Gratian Augustus *hortatu socrus et uxoris*. For the imperial insignia, see the note below ad 27.6.11 *corona*. For Gratian see the note ad 26.9.1 *translato vero*; add to the literature mentioned there Gottlieb, 1983. Gratian was born on 18 April 359 (in Sirmium) and was therefore only eight when he was made his father’s and uncle’s co-ruler. The words *adulto iam proximum* indicate that Gratian was still a *puer* – albeit a *nobilissimus puer*, a title which was given to him when he received the consulship for the year 366; Raimondi, 2001, 131. Amm. returns regularly to Gratian’s young age in this chapter by calling him *puer* (§ 5 and 15) and *adultus* (§ 8), and by saying that he has yet to enter *adolescencia* (§ 9) and that he was still growing up (§ 13); cf. *Epit.* 45.4 *Gratianum filium necdum plene puberem*. Rufin. *hist.* 11.13 gives a characterization of Gratian: *Is pietate et religione omnes pene, qui ante fuerant principes, superabat. Usu armorum strenuus, velox corpore, et ingenio bonus erat, sed iuvenili exultatione plus fere laetus, quam sufficiebat, et plus verecundus, quam reipublicae intererat*. By making first his brother Valens and now his son co-ruler Valentinian aimed at dynasty building and a smooth transfer of power in case he died. Gratian is clearly seen as the emperor of the future; Symm. *Or.* 3.1 *Salve novi saeculi spes sperata et in gremio rei publicae nutricis adolesce, laetitia praesentium, securitas posterorum*; see Pabst, 1986, 83, 94–95.

et paratis omnibus militeque firmato, ut animis id acciperent promptis, cum Gratianus venisset, progressus in campum tribunal escendit In contrast to what might perhaps be expected, the phrase *paratis omnibus* does not occur frequently, e.g. only seven times in Livy; Amm.’s two other instances are 21.15.1 and 29.1.14. In the present text it expresses that Valentinian prepared the ceremony with great care. For some reason translators all interpret *militeque firmato* as stating that Valentinian first secured the loyalty of the soldiers; this would be in accordance with the meaning “to ensure the loyalty of” (OLD s.v. 6b). The examples, however, imply that with this meaning the verb needs a complement expressing loyalty ‘to whom’: *cunctis civium sociorumque animis in se firmatis* (Liv. 21.5.5), *quo sibi in posterum gentem firmaret* (Tac. *Hist.* 5.4.1). Moreover, Amm.’s report does not contain any indications of doubts about the soldiers’ loyalty. It seems more likely that Valentinian, after his recovery from a dangerous illness, which must have worried his soldiers, ‘encouraged’ or ‘reassured’ them by making it clear that he was still in full control. See

for such a meaning of *firmare* Caes. *Civ.* 3.65.1 *nostrosque firmavit, ut se ex maximo timore colligerent*, Ov. *Met.* 3.688–689 *pavidum gelidumque trementi/corpore vixque meum firmat deus* (see Bömer ad loc.), Tac. *Hist.* 4.46.4 *paucis post diebus adloquentem Domitianum firmati* ('no longer afraid') *iam exceperere* (see Heubner ad loc.), Amm. 28.5.7 *firmatisque pectoribus* ("with fortified courage", tr. Rolfe). Moreover, before Valentinian could present his son as co-Augustus he had to make sure that he was acceptable to the army. This would take some time and required preparations, in particular because Gratian was still very young. When they had been encouraged and reassured, Valentinian's soldiers could be expected to listen responsively (*animis...promptis*) to his speech. 'When Gratian had arrived': the question 'from where?' cannot be answered, but in the context *cum...venisset* seems to imply 'from somewhere else', probably Rheims.

For *campus*, an open space for parades, exercises and assemblies, see the note ad 26.2.2 *progressus*. Imperial addresses or *adlocutiones* were given by the emperor standing on a tribunal, or at least on an elevated place; see the introduction to 20.5. Also new rulers (including usurpers) presented themselves standing on a tribunal; 15.8.4, 26.2.2 (*progressus Valentinianus in campum permissusque tribunal ascendere*, q.v.), 26.6.18 (*cum itaque tribunal idem escendisset Procopius*, q.v.). The phrase *tribunal ascendere* occurs only a few times in Livy and Amm., whose two other instances are 26.6.18 and 27.3.1 *tribunali escenso*.

splendoreque nobilium circumdatus potestatum dextra puerum apprehensum productumque in medium oratione contionaria destinatum imperatorem exercitui commendabat Cf. 14.10.10 (about Constantius) *circumdatus potestatum coetu celsarum*, 23.5.15 (about Julian) *coronaque celsarum circumdatus potestatum* (q.v.). With *splendor* Amm. probably denotes the impressive outward paraphernalia of authority. Cf. the remarkable hendiadys *nobilitas omnis et splendor* in 23.6.83 (q.v.). The ceremony had been organized with professional skill, in sharp contrast to the improvising amateurism of the usurper Procopius in some scenes of Book 26. When Constantius presented Julian to the army in Milan, and before he started his *adlocutio*, the emperor also took Julian's right hand; *Augustus insistens eumque manu retinens dextera* (15.8.4). The adj. *contionarius* is a rare word, which only occurs in Cic. *Q. fr.* 2.3.4 *contionario illo populo*, where Shackleton Bailey renders the word by "meeting-going", and Gel. 1.11.10 about Gaius Gracchus' use of a *tibia contionaria*, a flute which gave him the right pitch for his speeches. Amm. 30.4.19 refers to this passage with *contionaria Gracchi*

fistula. Because of the extreme rarity of *contionarius*, it is difficult, if not impossible, to establish what Amm. wants it to convey. In several passages Amm. uses *contio* to denote a meeting of soldiers (see the note ad 17.13.34 *contio*), and once the verb *contionari*, at the beginning of Julian's speech in 23.5.16. Perhaps it merely indicates that the style of the speech was deliberately adapted to the character of the occasion, viz. an official meeting of the armed forces. See for *destinare* as a synonym of "*designare, declarare, deputare, eligere*" TLL V 1. 758.81 sqq.

Amm. has composed a succinct speech in which he informs the reader in the shortest and clearest way possible about the definitive establishment of the Pannonian dynasty. Valentinian begins with referring to his duty as a father, the blessing of the gods and the wish of the army. Then he brings these three elements together in the presentation of young Gratian, who as yet, of course, cannot pride himself on any merits. There is, however, every reason to entertain high hopes about him, for he is a scion of a great family, which through his nomination will become a dynasty, the residence of which is the state itself. Remarkably, neither the speech nor, for that matter, Amm.'s report contains any allusion to the fact that young Gratian already held the official title *nobilissimus puer*, or to the ideology of a new golden age after the model of the fourth eclogue; cf. Symm. *Or.* 3.9 *Si mihi nunc altius evagari poetico liceret eloquio, totum de novo saeculo Maronis excursum vati similis in tuum nomen excriberem*. See for these aspects Doignon, 1966. The historian prefers to steer clear of ideological titles and slogans and restricts himself to those facts which he regards as really important.

6.6–9

Faustum erga me vestri favoris indicium hunc loci principalis circumferens habitum, quo potior aliis iudicatus sum multis et claris Henri de Valois proposed to correct V's text with *fausto...indicio* (not *iudicio*, as Seyfarth's app. crit. wrongly reports), which his brother Adrien improved upon with *Faustum...indicium*, implying that Valentinian's imperial attire is called the outward sign of his soldiers' support. As for Cornelissen's *au<gu>stum*, presented as irrefutable: Petschenig's adhesion (1892, 17) only consists in registering it as "gelungen" in a list of conjectures of Bentley, Cornelissen and Günther. Valesius' correction is supported by Valentinian's words to Gratian in § 12: *amicus...augustos meo commilitonumque nostrorum arbitrio delatos ominibus faustis*. See for *hunc loci principalis...habitum* the note ad § 4 *vixque se*. Contrary to the rendering of several translators the relative pronoun *quo* must be connected with *vestri favoris*: Valentinian

6.6

owes his imperial robes to the support of the troops. See for *potior*, “better qualified” (OLD s.v. 3), the list in TLL X 2.338.55 sqq. (the present text is mentioned in 339.18). The army preferred him to ‘a large number of eminent men’.

consiliorum sociis votorumque auspiciis vobis pietatis officium aggrediar tempestivum On the human level the soldiers ‘share in the taking of decisions’, but they also have a ‘religious’ role by functioning as the ‘patrons of his prayers’. See Nisbet-Hubbard on Hor. *Carm.* 1.7.27. V has only one other instance of *auspex*, 14.10.9 *dirimentibus forte auspiciis*. It has been accepted by Seyfarth and Viansino, but Clark and Galletier-Fontaine prefer Gelenius’ *auspiciis*. With *pietatis* the orator refers to the traditional element *PIVS* in the official imperial title (cf. *ILS* 771), but, as will soon become clear, more specifically to the dedicated responsibility of an imperial father towards his son; cf. *Pan.* 8.3.3 on the Tetrarchy: *qui Romanae potentiae terminos virtute protulerant, imperium filio pietate debebant*. Valentinian will now perform the duty implied in this *pietas*. See for a, probably ironic, reference to Valentinian’s *pietas* 29.3.6 *pius responderat imperator*. The addition of *tempestivum* is not otiose: by stating at once that it is the right moment the orator stops anyone from thinking of postponement on account of his young son’s tender age.

prospera deo spondente, cuius sempiternis auxiliis stabit Romana res inconcussa Cf. 18.6.3 *cuius rei prosperante deo ductorem commodissimum fore spondebat* (q.v.). As in this quotation, usually human beings are the Agents of *spondere*, e.g. 16.7.3 *obligata cervice suo spondebat*, 20.8.13 in Julian’s letter to Constantius: *me spondeo...facturum*, 29.5.16 *captivos, ut spoponderat, redditurus*. In some passages, however, a god solemnly pledges something: Sen. *Marc.* 17.7 *deos...qui tibi nihil certi spoponderunt*, Fron. *Str.* 1.11.14 *tamquam deo spondente victoriam*. An excellent parallel for the present text is 19.10.4 *divini arbitrio numinis, quod auxit ab incunabulis Romam perpetuamque fore spopondit*. Both texts belong to the many passages in the *Res Gestae* in which the deep-rooted conviction of Rome’s permanence is worded. Note that the various adjectives used in these texts, *aeternus*, *perpetuus*, *sempiternus*, denote a continuation to eternity. All ideas of an end of time, after which a new order will take shape, are absent in Amm.’s historiography.

- 6.7 *accipite igitur, quaeso, placidis mentibus, viri fortissimi, desiderium nostrum* Cf. 21.13.10 at the beginning of Constantius’ speech to the soldiers: *accipite*,

quaeso, aequis auribus et secundis and also 20.8.11 in Julian's letter to Constantius: *mente, quaeso, accipito placida*. In the present speech the orator bases his request on (*igitur*) the factors mentioned in the introduction: the support of his soldiers, the blessing of God and his own paternal love. See the note ad 23.5.16 *fortissimi milites* for some interesting variations on Julian's appellativa, when addressing his soldiers. See also the note ad 26.2.6 *Exsulto* on some other appellativa on such occasions.

id reputantes, quod haec, quae fieri caritatis sanciant iura, non tantum transire volumus per conscientiam vestram, verum etiam probata firmari ut congrua nobis et profutura It is Valentinian's ambition that his soldiers do not merely take Gratian's elevation for granted, but confirm it as profitable. The combination of the 'formal' term *iura* and the 'personal' *caritas* is remarkable, but it can perhaps be explained by an announcement of the Rhetor ad Herennium: *si quod ius in parentes, deos, patriam natura comparavit, id religiose colendum demonstrabimus* (3.3.4). TLL VII 2.679.53–54 aptly refers to *Dig.* 1.1.12 *nonnumquam ius etiam pro necessitudine dicimus veluti 'est mihi ius cognationis vel adfinitatis'*; cf. also TLL VII 2.685.59 sqq. There is no real parallel for the phrase *transire...per conscientiam*. Sen. *Ep.* 54.2 *omnia corporis aut incommoda aut pericula per me transierunt* comes closest, but concerns physical processes. The verb belongs to the small selection of cases in which Roman and Greek vocabulary is compared by the author: *transire enim diabenin dicimus Graeci* (23.6.20, q.v.). Unfortunately this does not make it any easier to understand the phrase in question; *conscientia* obviously denotes 'sharing in the knowledge', as in 19.9.6 *sine ullius...conscientia*, 22.3.8 *absque conscientia sua*. For Valentinian it is not enough that his idea simply 'passes through' as a mere bit of information. He wants his soldiers' confirmation; they should assess his decision as 'appropriate', 'fit'; see for this meaning of *congruus* the note ad 20.6.1 *usuique*. Although V's *nobis* does not really need emendation, Bentley's *vobis*, accepted by Marié and Viansino, seems to be slightly better. In § 6 Valentinian has indicated why he wants the nomination of Gratian, now he turns to its positive effects for the soldiers.

Gratianum hunc meum adultum, quem diu versatum inter liberos vestros commune diligitis pignus Viewed from any angle, *adultum* applied to an eight-year-old is a notable exaggeration. The fiction that young Gratian had come of age is, however, necessary in the situation. Next, Valentinian plays the Caligula card; cf. Suet. *Cal.* 9.1 *manipulario habitu inter milites educabatur*. The soldiers knew Gratian, who had moved among their own

sons for a long time, and whom they even regarded as a ‘token of the bond’ between the emperor and his men. TLL X 1.2125.34–35 suggests a definition of *pignus* which exactly suits the present text: “(pignora) ita nominantur, quia homines eis amandis constringuntur”.

undique muniendae tranquillitatis publicae causa in augustum sumere commilitium paro ‘Tranquillity’ in a political sense occurs a few times in the *Res Gestae*. In 14.10.15 Constantius calls himself a *princeps tranquillus*; Julian makes the same statement, where internal affairs are concerned: *domi moderatus visus sum et tranquillus* (21.5.5). In Julian’s deathbed speech it is one of the principles of his emperorship: *ad tranquilliora semper, ut nostis, propensior fui* (25.3.18, q.v.). A peaceful situation is indicated in 14.8.6: Nicator ruled his district for a long time *tranquillis in rebus*. Among earlier authors Cicero and Livy stand out because of the number of instances; some examples: when Archias arrived in Italy, the arts were not neglected at Rome *propter tranquillitatem rei publicae* (Cic. *Arch.* 5), *tranquilla re publica mei cives...perfruantur* (Cic. *Mil.* 93), *verum tamen fuit ratio mihi* (“I had my policy”, tr. Shackleton Bailey) *fortasse ad tranquillitatem meorum temporum non inutilis* (Cic. *Att.* 1.20.2), *re publica in tranquillum redacta* (Liv. 3.40.11), *tranquillitatis publicae fructus* (Liv. 34.7.1). The various examples mentioned have hopefully shown that the words *muniendae tranquillitatis publicae causa* are a deliberate political slogan.

In view of *augusto habitu* (20.4.22), *ob nuncupationem augustam* (26.2.10, q.v.), *augustos amictus* (26.7.13, q.v.) *augustum* implies that Gratian will be declared Augustus, not Caesar. For this title Valentinian had no use in his newly founded dynasty. It was important that in case of the death of the ‘reigning’ Augustus a fully qualified successor could immediately take over. The term *commilitium* refers here not just to companionship in imperial power – *post Gratianum filium in societatem suae potestatis assumptum*, 30.7.7 – but also to companionship in war. Gratian was to be his father’s associate in the field, although, as Amm. explains a few lines later, he was not yet trained or hardened in the art of warfare.

si propitia caelestis numinis vestraeque maiestatis voluntas parentis amorem iuverit praeeuntem In this conditional clause the three threads of Valentinian’s speech (God’s blessing, the soldiers’ wish and the emperor’s fatherly love) have been woven together into a solemn variation on the late antique truth *vox exercitus vox Dei*, the title of Heim, 1990. *Numen* is used here in a henotheistic meaning, as is often the case in Amm.; see the notes ad 25.8.3 *favore*, 26.1.5 *Valentinianus* and 26.3.15 *perpetua numini*.

Julian also, when he was made Caesar, had the favour of the heavenly god according to Amm.'s rendering of Constantius' address to the army; *ergo eum praesente nutu dei caelestis amictu principali velabo* (15.8.10). TLL VIII 155.84 lists the present text as a unique case of *maiestas* ascribed to soldiers. In Amm., however, there is a precedent for this remarkable ascription of 'authority' to the armed forces, viz. in Julian's speech to his soldiers at the start of the campaign against Constantius: *auctoritate vestri iudicii* (21.5.5, q.v.). For *iuerit* OLD s.v. *iurare* 2 provides an excellent meaning: "to back up".

non rigido cultu ab incunabulis ipsis ut nos educatum nec tolerantia rerum coalitum asperarum nec capacem adhuc Martii pulveris, ut videtis The orator explicitly concedes that, in contrast to himself, Gratian lacks the antecedents which are required for his prospective function. As will become clear in the following words, in view of the qualities of his ancestors there is every reason for great expectations. See for *cultus* as a synonym of *educatio* TLL IV 1337.66–76, for *coalitus* with abl. the notes ad 21.5.2 *actibus* and 21.12.22 *pulvere* and the last mentioned note also for *Martii pulveris* denoting the battlefield. Other examples of *ut vides* or *ut videtis* usually appeal to the listeners' own perception which will allow them to affirm a fact put forward by the speaker. Some examples from Cicero: *Sic habent se tabulae, iudices, ut videtis* (*Ver.* 2.191), *hi quoque etiam nunc volitant, ut videtis* (*Sest.* 94), *ut vos videtis, non plane me enervavit, non adflixit senectus* (*Sen.* 32). In the present text at first sight its use seems somewhat strange, but, in fact, it is a clever touch: Valentinian does not make any secret of the fact that, for the moment, the boy lacks the qualities which are required, but cleverly links this to the statement that his pedigree guarantees a swift improvement in the near future.

Sabbah 342 has drawn attention to the similarity between this passage and Symmachus' first *Laudatio in Valentinianum seniore Augustum* (1.1): *ibi primum tolerans solis et pulveris esse didicisti, cuius dudum cunabula Illyriae nives texerant*. He suggests that Symmachus' oration may have been a source for Amm. It would not be the first time that Amm. alludes to Symmachus' oration; he had done so before in his report of Valentinian's inauguration ceremony; see the note ad 26.2.2 *comitiorum specie*. See for Mars metonymically denoting warfare the notes ad 23.5.20 *devicta est* and 24.4.24 *extimabatur*.

sed familiae suae laudibus maiorumque factis praestantibus concinentem, parcius invidiae metu dicitur, protinus surrecturum As in *inter praecipuas laudes*

(21.16.14), *laus* is here the equivalent of “virtus vel factum laudabile” (TLL VII 2. 1064.36); cf. Verg. *A.* 10. 281–282 *nunc magna referto/ facta, patrum laudes*, with Harrison’s note ad loc. See for the figurative use of *concinere* the note ad 20.4.1 *perfugae*. Henri de Valois’ conjecture deserves close attention. He proposes to emend V’s impossible *paucibus* by *potioribus* and *surrecturum* by *succreturum*. It is true that Madvig’s *parcius* (1884, 270) strikes gold, as even a cursory inspection of the material gathered in TLL X 1.347.23 sqq. about the use of *parce* and *parcius* in combination with verbs meaning ‘to say’ or ‘to write’ will show, but this is not the end of *succreturum*. De Valois refers to these words of Q. Fabius Maximus in Liv. 10.13.7: *et se gloriae seniorum succrevisse*. Oakley ad loc. notes: “the image is of young trees growing up beneath mature specimens”. As can be seen, *succrescere* is combined with a dative. This is possible in the present text too: Valentinian is certain that young Gratian will grow beneath the glorious feats of his ancestors, ‘being in tune’ with them. ‘Growing beneath’ is a far more cautious idea than ‘rising (by his own force)’: for ‘fear of jealousy’ it is indeed expressed *parcius*, ‘with some restraint’. De Valois’ *succreturum* is truly excellent. It should be added that this is not the only example of the verb in Amm.: it also occurs in 20.11.19, 21.13.14, 23.5.20 and 28.2.14; the last of these occurrences is comparable to the present text: *ne ad parentum exempla subcresceret*. One of Gratian’s *maiores* was his grandfather, the father of Valentinian and Valens; *PLRE* I, Gratianus 1. After having been a *protector* and *tribunus*, he became *comes Africae* and *comes Britanniae*; see the brief survey of his life, which is a part of Valentinian’s necrology in 30.7.2–3, the only place in the *Res Gestae* where he is mentioned. His military career had made Valentinian a suitable candidate for the throne: *Cuius meritis Valentinianus ab ineunte adolescentia commendabilis* (30.7.4). Symm. *Or.* 1.3 praised the elder Gratianus highly for being the progenitor of emperors: *Meruisti quondam, inclute Gratiane, meruisti, ut de te sacra germina pullularent, ut esses seminarium principatus, ut fieres vena regalis*.

- 6.9 *ut enim mihi videri solet mores eius et appetitus licet nondum maturos saepe pensanti*
 Note the intention of *solet* in combination with *saepe*: the orator did not form his judgement of Gratian’s qualities on the basis of a few superficial impressions: he often ‘pondered’ the boy’s conduct and his natural ambitions, which ‘admittedly’ had not yet reached their maturity.

ineunte adolescentia, quoniam humanitate et studiis disciplinarum sollertium expolitus, librabit suffragiis puris merita recte secusve factorum; faciet, ut sciant se boni

intellegi Undoubtedly *expolitus* does not denote the present state of Gratian's education, but the one he will obtain in the future, 'when he has reached young manhood'. TLL VI 3.3078.32 sqq. provides a list of passages in which *humanitas* is more or less a synonym of "*eruditio, doctrina, urbanitas*". Translators assume that *sollertium* denotes intelligence; cf. e.g. "discipline che allenano l'intelligenza" (Caltabiano). There is only one direct parallel for *sollers* qualifying *disciplina*: when hounds were ordered to do their job, they did so *sollertis disciplinae memores* (Apul. *Met.* 8.4). *More suo* Blomgren 73 assumes an ellipse of *est* with *expolitus*, but he wonders whether it might not be preferable to interpret *quoniam* as a causal particle qualifying the participle *expolitus*; see for this Szantyr 385 on "Partizipialkonjunktionen". In the absence of any examples of such a use of *quoniam*, this is far from convincing. As to Blomgren's ellipsis, Clark did well by accepting Adrien de Valois' insertion of *est* before *expolitus*. Cf. for *expolire* in an educational sense Lact. *Inst.* 1.21.5 about criminals: *cum sint liberalium disciplinarum studiis expoliti, ab humanitate desciscunt*.

The adj. *purus* does not occur frequently in Amm. and the only cases in which it has a moral or religious sense are 21.14.5 *puras* about the souls, who are free from the pollution of sin, 23.6.33 *puerosque sacrorum ritus* (about the rites of the *magi*), 27.3.15 *puros... et verecundos* as a quality which bishops should have. This implies that Valentinian promises that in his future staff policy Gratian will be evaluating merits in a morally pure manner. See for Julian's intentions in this domain 20.5.7 with the various notes, and concerning *suffragium* the note ad *alio quodam*. See for *secus* denoting the opposite of 'right' or 'good' the note ad 20.8.11 *nec actum*. By his correct assessment of merits Gratian 'will bring about that' good people are encouraged by the knowledge that their qualities are 'understood'; cf. *gubernatorem in tempestate, in acie militem intellegas* (Sen. *Prov.* 4.5). This is the only case in Amm. of *facere ut*.

in pulchra facinora procursabit signis militaribus et aquilis adhaesurus; solem nivesque et pruinas et sitim perferet et vigilias; castris, si necessitas adegerit aliquotiens, propugnabit TLL X 2.1591.35–36 mentions this as a rare case in which *procursare* is used in a metaphorical sense. It is open to doubt whether this is really the case. The entire context concerns military actions in the factual sense. In the present text Gratian is pictured as a *procursator* (see the last part of the note ad 23.3.4 *agmina*), riding out to accomplish great feats and determined never to flee, but to stay close to the Roman standards. See for *signa* ('banners') the relevant notes ad

20.5.1 and 25.1.8, for *aquilae* Colombo, 2006, 20–25 and for *adhaerere* the note ad 24.4.15 *muris*. Among the traditional hardships of military life hunger is absent. Some examples of such ordeals: *Quo autem pacto illi Appenninum atque illas pruinas et nivis perferent?* (Cic. *Cat.* 2.23), *iter per nives ac pruinas* (Veg. *mil.* 3.2.4), *inedia et vigiliis... lassati* (Amm. 17.2.3), *dura et perpessu asperrima per nives tolerantes et acumina crudelium pruinarum* (17.9.4), *parsimonia ciborum et somni* (25.4.4), *patientia frigorum immanium et fervoris* (25.4.10), *famem sitimque perferre* (31.2.4).

See for *propugnare* with dat. the note ad 25.1.2 *cui propugnaturus*. Cf. *si auxilium eos adegerit necessitas implorare* (23.2.1), *ut adigebat necessitas instantis exitii* (31.8.10). See for Amm.'s remarkably frequent use of *aliquotiens* as a synonym of *saepe* the note ad 20.6.9 *aliquotiens*. From a rhythmical point of view the comma behind *aliquotiens* would be better placed after *adegerit*.

salutem pro periculorum sociis obiectabit et, quod pietatis summum primumque munus est, rem publicam ut domum paternam diligere poterit et avitam In the speech in which Constantius introduces Julian to the troops he admonishes Julian in this way: *consiste inter signiferos ipsos* (15.8.13) in engagements with the enemy. See also 25.4.10 about Julian: *augebat fiduciam militis dimicans inter primos*. The phrase 'comrade in danger(s)' is quite common; cf. e.g. *periculorum meorum socius* (Cic. *Fam.* 13.71), *socius periculi vobiscum adero* (Sal. *Jug.* 85.47), *se duces itinerum, socios periculi fore adfirmantes* (Liv. 21.29.6). Amm. uses such expressions in 16.12.6, 16.12.41, 24.2.15, 25.4.12 (q.v.), 25.5.7.

At the beginning of his speech Valentinian spoke about the duties of *pietas* in a personal relationship within his family. At the end of the speech this private environment is now enlarged: the family is a dynasty and its members' highest and prime task consists in loving the state, which is their true paternal, indeed their ancestral home. TLL V 1.1176.62 sqq. provides a survey of the relative frequency of *amare* and *diligere* in various authors. From this it appears that in most cases *amare* is the more frequent, and that instances of the verbs in historians are comparatively rare; e.g. Livy 7 and 1, Tacitus 13 and 5, Amm. 8 and 8 (which should be 9). The *Historia Augusta* differs notably from this pattern with 55 and 22 instances. Translators disagree in their interpretations of *ut domum paternam diligere*. Does this mean "as he loves the home of his father and his ancestors" (Hamilton) or is it Valentinian's intention to say that Gratian will love the commonwealth, regarding it as the home etc.? This is most clearly expressed

in Viansino's rendering "amare lo Stato come casa paterna". Without any doubt the latter interpretation is correct. In his speech Valentinian has gradually proceeded from the family relations to the dynastic functions of Gratian. His true home is the State.

Nondum finita oratione dictis cum assensu laeto auditis In a reference to Baebius Macer about the *haruspex Vulcanius* in Serv. *Ecl.* 9.46 *nondum finita oratione, in ipsa contione concidit*, the same phrase denotes that the speaker collapsed before he could finish his speech. The present text is more akin to Petr. 139 *Nondum querelam finieram, cum*, and expresses that the soldiers listened to Valentinian's words with such approval that their cheers erupted when he spoke his last words. 6.10

pro suo quisque loco animo milites alius alium anteire festinans tamquam utilitatis et gaudiorum participes Gratianum declararunt Augustum As might be expected, Blomgren 9 sticks to V's asyndeton, although he has to concede that 14.10.12 reads *pro suo enim loco et animo* ("selon son rang et son jugement", tr. Galletier). Clark and Marié rightly add Valesius' *et*. The next words are curiously paralleled by Sal. *Rep.* 8.2 *virtute anteire alius alium properabit*. See for *tamquam* the note ad 26.4.4 *ut loquebatur*. Here it explains the soldiers' enthusiasm: they shared in the general joy because of the 'salutary character' of the decision. See for similar cases of enthusiastic approval 21.5.9 *Hoc sermone imperatoris vice alicuius oraculi comprobato* (q.v.), 23.5.24 *Conclusa oratione ad hunc gratissimum finem ductoris gloria procliator miles exsultans* sqq. After Valentinian's first imperial speech (26.2.11 *Finita oratione...flexit imperator in suam sententiam universos*, q.v.) the reactions were less exuberant, though certainly not unkind. Gratian was made co-emperor in Amiens on 24 August 367: *ipso anno levatus est Gratianus Aug. in Galliis apud Ambianos a patre suo Valentiniano die viiii kal. Sep. (Consul. Constant. a. 367)*, ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸν υἱὸν Γρατιανὸν βασιλέα κατέστησεν τῇ τετάρτῃ καὶ εἰκάδι τοῦ Αὐγούστου μηνός (Socr. *HE* 4.11.3). Cf. Hier. *Chron.* a. 367.

classicorum amplissimo sonu blandum fragorem miscentes armorum Referring to 20.4.14 *Augustum Iulianum horrendis clamoribus concrepabant* (q.v.), Petschenig, 1892, 523 proposes to emend V's *clarimorum* to *clamorum*. Clark and Marié rightly follow this proposal. Referring inter alia to 21.5.1 *classico* (q.v.), Müller, 1905, 598 only notes that Gelenius' *classicorum* tallies with Veg. *mil.* 2.22.3 about the *classicum*: *hoc insigne videtur imperii*. One might add to Petschenig's conjecture that the 'shouting' of

a large meeting of soldiers seems to fit in better with ‘a huge sound’. Soldiers traditionally gave their approval in two ways: by shouting loudly, and by clashing their shields with spears or against their knees; see the introductory note ad 20.5.8. As is noted ad 20.4.14 *iterata*, Amm. always uses *sonus* as a noun of the u-declension. The combination *blandum fragorem* is a fine oxymoron: the sound of the weapons must have been deafening, cf. 15.8.15 *militares omnes horrendo fragore scuta genibus illidentes* (q.v.), but it sounded like sweet music to Valentinian, because, as in 15.8.15, it was *prosperitatis indicium plenum*. See also 20.5.8 with the introductory note and the note ad *hastis feriendo*.

- 6.11** *quo viso maiore fiducia Valentinianus exsultans* After the loud sounds in the preceding sentence the stereotyped *quo viso* is somewhat out of tune. Petschenig’s emendation *more...fiduciae* (1892, 683) is below his usual high standard. He feels obliged to interpret it as *more fidentis*, which does not improve its credibility, and the phrase *maior fiducia* is quite common; cf. e.g. *maiore cum fiducia* (Caes. *Civ.* 2.14.5), *cum maiore fiducia* (Liv. 40.32.4), *quo sit fiducia maior* (Ov. *Met.* 7.309 and Mart. 7.6.9); Amm. 20.5.8 is comparable: *Hac fiducia spei maioris animatus* (q.v.). Moreover, it makes excellent sense: Valentinian’s confidence had increased as a result of the reactions. See for *exsultans* the note ad 27.2.2 *exsultantes*. As in that passage, the verb has no negative implication here: the emperor’s jubilation is fully comprehensible.

corona indumentisque supremae fortunae ornatum filium osculatus iamque fulgore conspicuum alloquitur advertentem, quae dicebantur In contrast to the improvisations in the cases of Julian in Paris, where a makeshift diadem was used (20.4.18, q.v.), Jovian at Phrygia, where an imperial robe fitting his size was not available (25.10.14, q.v.) and Procopius in Constantinople, where the usurper’s imitation outfit was downright ridiculous (26.6.15, q.v.), the present ceremony had been perfectly organized. Obviously, an imperial attire fitting the young boy had been made. See the notes ad 22.7.3 *exosculatum* and 22.9.13 *osculo* on the ceremonial kiss. The purple cloak (*paludamentum*) and the diadem (*diadema* or *corona*) were the most important imperial insignia; others were the globe, the sceptre and a purple toga (*trabea triumphalis*); Kolb, 2001, 49–54, 105–107; see also the notes ad 26.2.3 *mox principali* and 26.6.15 *nusquam reperto*. It is nowhere else attested that a kiss was part of an imperial inauguration and Valentinian kissing his son was therefore in all likelihood not a regular part of the official ceremony. Julian, as well as several of his predecessors,

used to greet their friends with a kiss. See the extensive note ad 22.7.3 *exosculatum*. Add to the literature cited there Thraede, 2008.

Cf. for *fulgore conspicuum* 15.8.15, where the soldiers admired the freshly hailed new Caesar (Julian) *imperatorii muricis fulgore flagrantem*, and 20.4.22, where they saw him as Augustus: *fulgentem eum augusto habitu* (q.v.). To crown it all, young Gratian played his part perfectly by listening attentively to his father's words. In Ancyra Jovian's baby son had disturbed the solemn start of the consulate of his father and himself with his wailing (25.10.11).

Gratian's ascendancy to the imperial throne seems also to have been celebrated in the eastern part of the empire as appears from a Latin inscription from Antioch in Pisidia. The inscription, set up by the praeses of Pisidia Fl. Proculus Macedo (*PLRE* I, Macedo 3) sometime in the years 367–375, honours Gratian as *Romani status ac libertatis propagatori*; Levick, 1965, 59–60; *AE*, 1965, 15b. His nomination was also numismatically celebrated; Overbeck, 1999.

“*En*”, inquit, “*habes, mi Gratiane, amictus, ut speravimus omnes, augustos meo commilitonumque nostrorum arbitrio delatos ominibus faustis*” This is the last of Amm.’s eight instances of *en*, the function of which is to invite close visual attention; see the relevant notes ad 24.3.4, 24.8.1, 26.7.16. In the present text the *Kindkaiser* should look at the official imperial attire he has just been clothed in and which he now ‘possesses’ (*habes*), as everybody hoped. As in the case of *vestraeque maiestatis* above in § 8, the ‘will’ (*arbitrium*) of the soldiers as a decisive factor in the nomination of an emperor has a parallel in Julian’s case: *Augustum eorum arbitrio declaratum* (20.4.20), *Caesarem vestrum firmo iudicio ad potestatum omnium columnen sustulistis* (20.5.3, q.v.). Note *nostrorum*: the soldiers are ‘the comrades in arms of you and me’. Cf. for *ominibus faustis* Tac. *Ann.* 1.35.3 *faustis in Germanicum ominibus*, Suet. *Aug.* 57.2 (people accompanied Augustus) *revertentem ex provincia... faustis ominibus*. The affectionate enthusiasm was a favourable omen.

6.12

accingere igitur pro rerum urgentium pondere ut patris patrui collega The imperial dignity, manifested by its glorious attire, implies military duties and hardships. From now on Gratian should, so to speak, be ready to put on his uniform; cf. this phrase in Symm. *Or.* 3 in honour of Gratian, hesitatingly dated to 368–369 by Pabst: *cuius primum est stipendium principatus* (3.2); see for *accingi*, ‘to prepare oneself for military action’, the note ad 27.2.1 *Iovinus*. See for the metaphorical use of *pondus* the note

ad 25.10.4 *Moratum*. In his usual predilection for asyndeton Blomgren 9 has to cope with the resulting anomalous cursus, which he defends with a few other examples of the same rhythm. Understandably, Clark and Marié found the cursus planus of Adrien de Valois' *patruisque collega* more convincing. Note the casual introduction of Valens, who has nowhere been mentioned or referred to in the preceding text, the purport of which is that raising Gratian to imperial dignity was the idea of Valentinian alone. Even more remarkable is the absence of any reference to the possibility that sooner or later Valens might imitate Valentinian's example. He had a baby son, called Valentinianus Galates, born in January 366, who became consul in January 369; see Bagnall et al., 1987, 272–273. On this occasion Themistius held a speech, towards the end of which he appealed to Valens to take the further step of nominating his son as Augustus: προοίμιον γὰρ ὀνομάζω τὴν τήβεννον τῆς ἀλουργίδος καὶ τοῦ στεφάνου τὸ σκῆπτρον καὶ τῶν δορυφόρων τοὺς ῥαβδοφόρους, 'I call the toga a prelude of the purple, the consular sceptre of the crown and the *lictores* of the imperial guard' (*Or.* 9.12, 127 d), 'it will be a great spectacle to see τέτρωρον βασιλέων, a *quadriga* of emperors' (*ib.* 128 a). Obviously such thoughts had been developed at the eastern imperial court. See Lenski, 2002, 91–92. According to Amm.'s interpretation of Gratian's nomination Valentinian decidedly held other ideas. In 26.5.1–3 the historian reports that the Roman empire was divided into a western and an eastern zone, and that in each an Augustus was the central authority, but now Valentinian makes fully clear that it remains one empire, ruled by a dynasty, which had divided the tasks, but not split the state. It would prove to be no more than a penultimate position, which only Theodosius was able to uphold, and which at the start of the fifth century had in fact become an idea of the past.

After Gratian's nomination there were three *Augusti pari iure*; the term is used by Symm. *Or.* 1.11 when referring to the nomination of Valens: *ergo Augustum pari iure confirmans curasti, ne umquam tibi suspectus esset, cui non reliquisti, quod ultra optare deberet*. Although Gratian was formally the imperial colleague of his father and uncle, it is evident that because of his age and inexperience he had no practical ruling role nor a territory to rule over. In practice therefore he was subordinate to Valentinian and Valens. Of the three Valentinian was the superior Augustus because he was the oldest and had nominated his younger brother and his son; Pabst, 1986, 83. His superiority is clearly evident from the fact that he does not seem to have consulted Valens about his intention to make

Gratian co-Augustus; for Valens' inferiority towards his elder brother, see the note ad 26.4.3 *participem*. Symmachus nicely conceals Gratian's subordination in his panegyric for the young emperor (*Oration* 3), held in Trier, possibly in 368 or 369, by formulating the idea that Gratian possessed the whole empire whereas Valentinian and Valens had only part of it: *Quodsi fortunam tuam, Gratiane venerabilis, quae prima in ducibus aestimatur, perpensa examinatione libremus, quid felicius principe sub parentibus imperante? te placido sinu cunctus orbis amplectitur, cumque sit res publica patri et patruo tuo quadam specie distributa, tibi uni tamen cum utroque communis est* (*Or.* 3.11); 'Even when by careful examination we balance your fortune, honourable Gratian, which is valued highest in leaders, what is happier than a ruler ruling under his parents? The whole world encompasses you in loving embrace, and while the state is divided between your father and uncle in a certain manner, it is yours alone in common with them both.' See also Errington, 2006, 24–25.

Ausonius in his *Versus Paschales* compared the rule of the three Augusti with the Trinity; see the note ad 26.5.1 *concordissimi principes*.

et assuesce impavidus penetrare cum agminibus peditum gelu pervios Histrum et Rhenum, armatis tuis proximus stare, sanguinem spiritumque considerate pro his impendere, quos regis The young emperor has to 'become accustomed (to another way of life)'. See for *penetrare*, "to cross a river" (OLD s.v. 2b) the notes ad 21.13.2 *nam si*, 24.1.5 *alveo*, 25.8.2 *obliquis*. This will happen in wintertime, amidst the infantry forces. Again a small detail reveals that Gratian will not restrict himself to military actions in Valentinian's part of the Empire, but will also take part in operations in Valens' world, hinted at by the mention of the Danube. See for the role of the Rhine and the Danube as the borders of the Empire in Europe Vogler, 1993. In his *Or.* 3.11, quoted in the preceding note, Symmachus is more explicit. Gratian's active involvement will be reported in Book 31. See for *armati*, 'soldiers', the note ad 20.4.22 *armati*. Being 'close' to them is after the manner of Julian: *sub imperatore plus sibi laboris quam gregariis indicente* (23.5.24, q.v.). There is more to the combination *sanguinem spiritumque* than mere alliteration, as will become clear from the following 'medical' quotations: *Inter hos (the nervi) latent arteriae, id est spiritus semitae; his innatant venae, id est sanguinis rivi* (Plin. *Nat.* 11.219), *vena est conceptaculum sanguinis, quod ἀγγεῖον medici vocant, mixti confusique cum spiritu naturali, in quo plus sanguinis est, minus spiritus; arteria est conceptaculum spiritus naturalis mixti confusique cum sanguine, in quo plus spiritus est, minus sanguinis* (Gél. 18.10.9), *in venis autem et arteriis, quae sunt receptacula sanguinis*

et spiritus, tertia fit digestio (Macr. *Sat.* 7.4.22). The meaning of *considerate* comes out well in 30.1.5 *audacter magis quam considerate*, with *magis* ‘correctivum’ indicating a clear contrast.

nihil alienum putare, quod ad Romani imperii pertinet statum The first words are a variation of Terentius’ ‘proverbial’ *Homo sum: humani nil a me alienum puto* (*Hau.* 77): being an emperor implies not regarding anything which pertains to the state of the empire as being outside one’s interest. Verdière, 1970 defends V’s *latus*, adducing as examples inter alia Luc. 8.425–426 *arctoum... imperii nudare latus* and Sil. 4.46 *Ausonium invasere latus*. Colombo, 2007, 262–263 supports this plea, because of “numerosi paralleli soprattutto nell’ambito delle *Res Gestae*”. He mentions inter alia 14.2.13 *omne latus Isauriae*, 21.13.1 *Mesopotamiae... latus*, 31.6.5 *per Thraciarum latus omne*. However, in all these passages *latus* is geographically defined and mentioned in the context of actual hostilities. Neither is the case in the present text. Heraeus’ emendation *statum* is well supported by Amm.’s use of *status*; see the note ad 20.8.11 *statui Romano*. Referring to 20.11.30 *cum praesentium rerum verti necesse sit status*, Petschenig, 1892, 683 proposes the plural *status*, but this does not fit ‘the Roman empire’.

6.13 *haec pro tempore praecepisse sufficiet, cetera monere non desinam* See for *pro tempore*, ‘in accordance with the situation’, the note ad 24.3.8 *pro tempore*. Here it can be rendered by ‘for the moment’. The inf. perf. differs from 27.2.9 *ausum... fecisse* (q.v.), and belongs to the list of cases described in Kühner-Stegmann 1.134, where the inf. denotes an action which lies in the past; cf. Hor. *Ars* 416 *nec satis est dixisse*, Amm. 23.5.19 *mihi vero pro Romano orbe memet vovisse sufficiet*. Valentinian will not stop at his present advisory lessons, more will follow in due course.

nunc reliqui vos estis, rerum maximi defensores, quos rogo et obtestor, ut accrescentem imperatorem fidei vestrae commissum servetis affectione fundata Having addressed himself to his son, Valentinian now finishes the ceremony with a last word to the soldiers. Caltabiano has rendered the somewhat curious phrase at the beginning very well by “Da ultimo mi rivolgo a voi”. See the notes ad 23.5.16 *fortissimi milites* and 26.2.6 *Exsulto* for other laudatory appellativa addressed to the soldiers. Hagendahl, 1924, 185 lists the present text and 21.5.8 *obtestor et rogo* among the coupling of “uerba monendi siue orandi”. In his final words the orator returns to the soldiers’ feelings of sympathy which he had appealed to with

commune diligitis pignus in § 8. Valentinian expects such sympathy not to be a fleeting emotion, but an attitude ‘resting on a stable foundation’; cf. the notes ad 20.4.15 *mente fundata* and 21.12.7 *mentibusque fundatis*. Cf. Julian’s words in 20.5.4: *vixdum adolescens... vestrae tutelae nutu caelesti commissus* (q.v.). The first readers of this passage will have remembered that a decade before, almost to the day sixteen years after Valentinian’s appeal to the soldiers’ loyalty, Gratian fell victim to the treason of his soldiers and was assassinated. See Sabbah 515, who calls the appeal “involontairement prophétique comme dans la tragédie”.

His dictis sollemnitate omni firmatis Judging by their renderings, translators do not feel entirely at ease. Caltabiano’s straightforward “Confermate con ogni sollemnità queste parole” seems the best translation: Valentinian’s words were not merely those of a father encouraging his young son, but somehow received a ceremonial affirmation which is not further described in detail.

6.14

Eupraxius, Caesariensis Maurus, magister ea tempestate memoriae PLRE I, Flavius Eupraxius. He succeeded Sextus Rusticus Iulianus as *magister memoriae*; see the note *Rusticus Iulianus* above ad § 1. He must have been *magister* only for a few weeks when he became *quaestor sacri palatii*. He occupied the latter position in the years 367–370. Amm. praises him highly because, through his self-confidence and frank way of speaking, he was able to suppress Valentinian’s uncontrolled behaviour; 27.7.6, 28.1.25. In 374 he was prefect of Rome; Chastagnol, 1962, 190–191. He may have been the addressee of Symmachus’ letters 4.58–60, 62–65 ‘ad Euphrasium’.

“familia Gratiani hoc meretur” Sabbah 340–341 regards this phrase as ambiguous: the name can denote young Gratian, but also his grandfather Gratianus. He adds that the second interpretation is more probable, especially since this squares well with a passage in Symmachus’ first oration, in praise of Valentinian, in which his father is addressed in these words: *Meruisti quondam, inclute Gratiane, meruisti, ut de te sacra germina pullularent, ut esses seminarium principatus* (Or. 1.3). In fact, there cannot be any doubt which of the two is meant within Amm.’s context. Whereas the grandson has been mentioned by name five times in the chapter, the grandfather is not even hinted at in the preceding text; § 8 comes closest, but there Valentinian uses the plural *maiorum*. In fact, setting aside the present text, the elder Gratianus

is only mentioned by name in Valentinian's necrology: *Gratianus maior* (30.7.2). No reader of Amm. could be expected to conceive the idea that Eupraxius is referring to the grandfather, not to the grandson. It is, perhaps, conceivable that Amm. is quoting or adapting the phrase outside its original context, in which it was immediately clear that Eupraxius referred to the grandfather. However, even this is questionable. On the basis of *CIL* 8.7014 (= *ILS* 758), *PLRE* 1, Gratianus 1 concludes that he had died before 367. The interpretation of *familia Gratiani* as a reference to a living person is more likely. Cf. for *familia* in a 'diachronic' sense Cic. *Ver.* 4.47 (objects) *quae in familia semper fuerunt*, Sal. *Jug.* 14.5 *familia nostra cum populo Romano bello Carthaginiensi amicitiam instituit*, Liv. 2.42.8 *mansit in ea familia aliquamdiu honos*, Amm. 22.15.24 *de familia nobili*.

statimque promotus quaestor See for *promovere* with double acc. to denote a promotion to a higher rank the note ad 20.9.5 *praefectum*. See also the note ad 20.2.5, in which passage Amm.'s dislike of irregular promotions manifests itself. For the office of *quaestor sacri palatii* see the notes ad 20.9.4 *Leonam*, 26.4.4 *suspectas* and 27.3.11 *Advenit*.

multa et prudentibus aemulanda bonae fiduciae reliquit exempla nusquam a statu naturae discedens intrepidae Eupraxius' sudden promotion may have led to raised eyebrows, but his conduct was irreproachable and his confidence proved to be of the right kind. Cf. the comparable phrase in 22.9.12 *haec laudanda et bonis moderatoribus aemulanda*. Amm. borrowed the phrase *a statu...discedens* from Cicero: *ea quae videntur acerba...ita ferre ut nihil a statu naturae discedas* (*Off.* 1.67). According to Amm. Eupraxius was an exception during the reign of the Pannonians, which is characterized by Amm. as extremely cruel and without respect for the law; e.g. 27.7.4–8.

sed constans semper legumque similis, quas omnibus una eademque voce loqui in multiplicibus advertimus causis Again Amm. turns to Cicero's *De officiis*; cf. *optandumque ut ii qui praesunt rei publicae, legum similes sint* (1.89; see Dyck ad loc. on "the ruler as νόμος ἑμψυχος"), *leges sunt inventae, quae cum omnibus semper una atque eadem voce loquerentur* (2.42).

qui tunc magis in suscepta parte iustitiae permanebat, cum eum recta monentem exagitarat minax imperator et nimius The negative remark about Valentinian comes as a surprise after the positive description of Gratian's

nomination as Augustus. It functions as a prelude to the unfavourable survey of the emperor's bad habits in chapter 7. See OLD s.v. *suscipere* 7c: *suscipere partem* (or *partes*), "to take a (specified) side in a dispute". Some examples: *qui enim vitii modum apponit* (instead of entirely rejecting them), *is partem suscipit vitiorum* (Cic. *Tusc.* 4.42), *pro parte suscepta* (Quint. *Inst.* 7.2.54), *neque enim defuit qui diversam quoque partem susciperet* (Tac. *Dial.* 1.4). Cf. for *exagitare*, 'to harass' (or, in the circumscription in TLL V2.1151.69–70, "concitando in inquietum, turbatum, afflictum sim. statum inducere") 27.3.8 *exagitatus est motibus crebris*, 30.5.6 *ultimorum metu exagitatos*. The subjunctive is obviously iterative, which implies that the two adjectives do not denote a permanent characteristic: Eupraxius upheld the cause of justice, whenever Valentinian tried to scare him with threats, "transgressing the limits of correct behaviour" (OLD s.v. *nimius*). The absolute use of *nimius* is remarkable; usually it is accompanied by some specification, e.g. Tac. *Ann.* 13.13.2 (about Agrippina) *nimia nuper coercendo filio*, Sen. *Ep.* 83.12 *nimius erat in vino*, Amm. 22.7.3 *nimius captator inanis gloriae*, 22.11.1 *earundem partium nimius fautor*. The present text is paralleled by 16.12.68 *inflabant ex usu imperatorem suopte ingenium nimium*, (the courtiers) "inflated Constantius' natural self-conceit after their usual manner" (tr. Hamilton). See further Seager 11–13 and 16–17. As to *minax*, one could say that threats are always beneath the dignity of an emperor.

In general Amm. paints a portrait and assesses an emperor's qualities after his death (Gallus: 14.11.27–29; Constantius: 21.16; Julian: 25.4; Jovian: 25.10.14–17; Valentinian: 30.7–9; Valens: 31.14). Since Amm. ended his *Res Gestae* in 378 and Gratian died in 383, he took the opportunity to dedicate a few words to Gratian's personality on the occasion of his inauguration as Augustus.

6.15

consurrectum est post haec in laudes maioris principis et novelli maximeque pueri Cf. 24.1.12 *exercitus...elatis vocibus in favores principis consurgebat* (q.v.), like the present text a description of an *acclamatio*. See for this the notes ad 18.6.2 *acclamationibus*, 24.1.1 *deum usitato*, 25.5.4 (p. 181), 26.6.18 *leni paucorum*. Cf. for this use of *consurgere* Plin. *Pan.* 54.2 *in venerationem tui theatra ipsa consurgunt*. Clark and Marié print a comma after *novelli*, which is helpful for the reader. The adjective occurs five times in Amm., in two cases with a distinctly disparaging flavour: 15.5.25 *imperatoris novelli* about Silvanus, 18.6.3 *despectoque novello duce* about Ursicinus' successor Sabinianus. In the present text such a connotation would not be in

keeping with the tenor of the chapter. However, as in § 5 *dextra puerum adprehensum*, Amm. clearly indicates that the new Augustus was actually ‘a boy’.

quem oculorum flagrantior lux commendabat vultusque et reliqui corporis iucundissimus nitor et egregia pectoris indoles Gratian was only a *puer*, but with remarkable outward and inward qualities. Strictly speaking, the latter could hardly be perceived by the senses, but had to be deduced from his outward appearance with the help of physiognomic principles. Two descriptions of Julian testify to this. The first one occurs shortly after his official installation as Caesar: *cuius oculos cum venustate terribiles vultumque excitatius gratum diu multumque contuentes*, the soldiers inferred his future conduct, as if they had carefully consulted physiognomic manuals (15.8.16, q.v.). The study of such books *per corporum signa pandit animarum interna*, ‘by way of physical signs uncovers the inside of the souls’ (*ibid.*). The necrology contains the second one: *venustate oculorum micantium flagrans, qui mentis eius argutias indicabant* (25.4.22); see the note ad loc., in which it is shown that *argutias* must have a positive meaning, e.g. “a lively intelligence” (tr. Hamilton). Sabbah 421–428 surveys the various examples of Amm.’s “remarquable familiarité” with physiognomic theories. See also the notes ad 21.16.19 and 25.10.14 on the physiognomic part of the necrologies of Constantius and Jovian respectively.

The portrait of the ten years old Diadumenus Antoninus in HA *Dd* 3.2 is an interesting parallel, as are the hexameters in honour of Maximinus Thrax’ young son, written by his Greek teacher, who combined Verg. *A.* 5.589 and 591 on the morning star with his own *talis erat iuuenis patrio sub nomine clarus* (HA *Max* 27.4; see Lippold ad loc.).

‘The most delightful radiance of the boy’s face and the rest of his body’ is more remarkable. The examples in OLD s.v. *nitidus* 3 and *nitor* 2 show that such qualifications denote the radiant beauty of gods and idealized persons; cf. e.g. Prop. 1.2.6: in contrast to ‘purchased’ beauty Cynthia should *sinere in propriis membra nitere bonis*; [Tib.] 3.4.36, in a description of Apollo: *in nitido corpore*. Navarro Antolín ad loc. detects a reference to Φοῖβος; in a comparable passage Apuleius mentions Apollo’s *corpus totum gratissimum, membra nitida* (*Fl.* 3.10); Horace sings the praises of a beautiful girl in this way: *urit me Glyceræ nitor/ splendentis Pario marmore purius* (*Carm.* 1.19.5–6); in Seneca’s *Phaedra* the nurse describes Phaedra’s physical condition inter alia with these words:

tenerque nitidi corporis cecidit decor (378, a verse deleted by Leo, but defended by Billerbeck, 1988, 107).

quae imperatorem impleset cum veterum lectissimis comparandum, si per fata proximisque licuisset, qui virtutem eius etiamtum instabilem obnubilarunt actibus pravis Tacitus needed a mere fraction of these words for a comparable verdict on Galba: *capax imperii nisi imperasset* (*Hist.* 1.49.4). From Amm.'s somewhat cumbersome phrase the reader has to gather a complicated judgement: Gratian died at a young age, and therefore, not having found his true form, he had not been able to resist the evil influence of his staff. Had he lived, he would have shaken off such obstacles and become an exemplary ruler. See for *implere* with the acc. of a person with a specific role TLL VII 1.637.11 sqq.; some examples Vell. 2.95.3 *cum... Paulus vix posset implere censorem* (see Woodman ad loc.), Veg. *mil.* 1.6.1: during a recruitment one should look carefully *qui implere valeant bellatores*. In the present text the use of the verb is slightly bold, in that Gratian's 'innate good qualities' are said to have been able to perform the imperial duties.

Under favourable conditions Gratian would easily have surpassed Constantius, who was merely *principibus mediis comparandus* (21.16.8, q.v.). TLL VII 2.1363.26–49 deals with the combination *licet per*; cf. Ov. *Met.* 13.885 *quod fieri solum per fata licebat* (see Bömer ad loc.), and especially Eutr. 10.16.2 about Julian: *vir egregius et rem publicam insigniter moderaturus, si per fata licuisset*. See for *obnubilare* with the meaning "utcumque deteriorem reddere" the list in TLL IX 129.67 sqq., which also contains Amm.'s three other instances of the verb: 16.1.5, 22.10.6 and 28.4.2. The first of these occurs in a brief laudatory portrait of Julian, in a phrase which resembles the present text: *sic praeclarae huius indolis rudimenta tunc multis obnubilantibus tegebantur*. The clarity of the relative clause *qui virtutem* etc. leaves something to be desired: one can imagine the reputation of an emperor's rule being damaged by the 'wicked activities' of his staff, but his personal qualities (*virtus*) can only be injured by his own faux pas. Presumably, the author means to say that Gratian's advisers were in fact responsible for his wrongdoing; see also 31.10.18, where Amm.'s words are less favourable for Gratian: his natural inclination towards unbecoming conduct made him comparable to Commodus. Although Amm. was probably deliberately vague in not mentioning any of the *proximi* who had a bad influence on Gratian, names have been put forward. Hoepffner, 1936, 126 believes that the

PPO Galliarum Maximinus (*PLRE* I, Maximinus 7) was one of Gratian's evil *proximi*. Blockley, 1975, 134–135 considers this unlikely and suggests that bishop Ambrose was one of the *proximi* whom Amm. may have meant. In the last years of Gratian's reign Ambrose gained considerable influence at the imperial court at the cost of the senatorial faction which was inspired by Ausonius; this led eventually to the official rejection of polytheism by the emperor. The non-Christian Ammianus must have disapproved of this measure as well as of Ambrose's meddling at the imperial court. Merobaudes (*PLRE* I, Flavius Merobaudes 2) is also considered by Blockley (*ibid.*) a plausible candidate; however, Amm. does not display hostility towards him in passages where an opportunity presented itself.

- 6.16 *In hoc tamen negotio Valentinianus morem institutum antiquitus supergressus non Caesares, sed Augustos germanum nuncupavit et filium benivole satis* Generally ruling Augusti nominated co-emperors as Caesares. However, a Caesar could become a rival as e.g. Julian had become towards Constantius II. For this reason Valentinian is thought to have appointed his brother as Augustus instead of Caesar; see Symm. *Or.* 1.11, quoted below; Pabst, 1986, 57; the note ad 26.4.3 *universorum*. Valentinian's policy was not a novum. Apart from the co-Augusti Marcus Aurelius and L. Verus, the brothers Caracalla and Geta also ruled briefly together as Augusti. In 286 Diocletian nominated Maximian as Augustus. That a ruling emperor nominated his young son as Augustus is new. Gratian can therefore justly be called the first "Kindkaiser".

Valentinian's decision to award the title *Augustus* to his brother and his son are here ascribed to his goodwill. This is a most unsatisfactory explanation, and below the standard of an historian. Amm. should at least have developed the idea behind Gratian's nomination further, as is implied in the speech which he has allotted to Valentinian: the emperor is founding a new dynasty and to preclude any problems regarding the succession he gives the full title to the successor-in-spe. The words *benivole satis* would be more in place in a panegyric. Symm. *Or.* 1.11 is an excellent example: in this section the orator praises Valentinian's *liberalitas* in not begrudging his brother the highest imperial title on the following grounds: *maximeque in imperatore faciundo magnitudinem regiae largitatis minui credidisti, si cum insperata concederes, adhuc speranda differres*. Perhaps Amm.'s phrase is meant to express a veiled contrast with Constantius' 'ungenerous' treatment of Julian.

nec enim quisquam antehac ascivit sibi pari potestate collegam praeter principem Marcum, qui Verum adoptivum fratrem absque diminutione aliqua auctoritatis imperatoriae socium fecit This is mentioned more often in sources from the same period as the *Res Gestae*. See *epit.* 16.5 *Is [M. Aurelius] propinquum suum Lucium Annium Verum ad imperii partem novo benivolentiae genere ascivit.* Eutr. 8.9.1–2 *Post hunc imperavit M. Antoninus Verus haud dubie nobilissimus... et cum eo L. Annius Antoninus Verus. tumque primum Romana res publica duobus aequo iure imperium administrantibus paruit, cum usque ad eos singulos semper habuisset Augustos.* Ruf. Fest. 21 *Antonini duo, Marcus et Verus... pariter Augusti, imperium orbis aequata primum potestate tenuerunt.* Hier. Chron. a. 161 *Hi primum aequo iure imperium administraverunt, cum usque ad hoc tempus singuli Augusti fuerint;* see also Oros. *hist.* 7.15.1; Cassiod. *Chron.* II p. 143; Jord. *Rom.* 272. HA MA 7.5 *Post excessum divi Pii a senatu coactus regimen publicum capere fratrem sibi participem in imperio designavit, quem Lucium Aurelium Verum Commodum appellavit Caesaremque atque Augustum dixit. atque ex eo pariter coeperunt rem publicam regere tuncque primum Romanum imperium duos Augustos habere coepit, cum imperium sibi relictum cum alio participasset.* HA Ael. 5.12–14 *Eius est filius Antoninus Verus, qui adoptatus est a Marco, vel certe cum Marco, et cum eodem aequale gessit imperium. nam ipsi sunt qui primi duo Augusti appellati sunt, et quorum fastis consularibus sic nomina praescribuntur ut dicantur non duo Antonini set duo Augusti.* Marcus Aurelius shared the imperial power with his brother by adoption. Note the contrast with *germanum*, Valentinian's 'full brother'. For all the formal equality in position, the personal authority of Marcus, who was ten years older than Lucius Verus, was clearly greater, though to a lesser degree than Valentinian's prestige compared to that of Valens.

Apart from this passage Amm. mentions Marcus Aurelius eight more times in his *Res Gestae* (14.4.2, 15.7.3, 16.1.4, 21.16.11 [q.v.], 22.5.4, 29.6.1, 30.9.1, 31.5.13) and L. Verus twice (23.5.17 [q.v.], 23.6.24).

CHAPTER 7

Introduction

The chapter opens with a few briefly described intrigues in the higher echelons of the western imperial administration. After this, the author suddenly turns to an assessment of Valentinian's character and behaviour. In the preceding chapters of Books 26 and 27 the reader had already met with some phrases expressing Ammianus' reservations concerning the western emperor, but he now transforms his feelings into an indictment: Valentinian was incapable of controlling himself, and gave in to his anger readily and culpably in various situations. This is illustrated with six examples, ordered in three pairs. Unfortunately, the succinctness of the report on the situations in question makes it very hard, if not well-nigh impossible, for the modern reader, to get a grip on the precise controversies at stake. The chapter ends with the gloomy observation that some emperors not only refuse to listen to critical advice from their friends but also deter their enemies from speaking up.

After the highly important matter of the founding of an imperial dynasty in chapter 6 the author continues with a very brief survey of a few intrigues and rivalries among aristocrats. All further development of these affairs is lacking as is the link with the main theme of the story, viz. the style of Valentinian's emperorship. As if sensing the lack of intrinsic coherence, the author explicitly introduces a chronological arrangement: the first case happened 'a few days after' the ceremonial nomination of Gratian. Sadly, this chronology is useless, because it is completely wrong. The various interconnected affairs took place two years before.

7.1-3

His ex sententia rectoris et militum ordinatis vix dies intercessere pauci See the note ad 23.1.5 *quibus, ut convenerat, ordinatis*, where it is stated that such phrases usually refer to measures taken by the emperor. Here and in 29.2.14 Valentinian is called *rector*, for which term see ad 20.1.1 *rectore*. In the present text the addition of *et militum* is telling; see the note ad 27.6.8 *si propitia*. The phrase *ex sententia*, 'according to someone's

7.1

satisfaction', is dealt with in the note ad 22.10.1 *Ibi hiemans*. The chronological phrase may have been borrowed from Liv. 24.29.1 *Dies haud multi intercesserunt, cum*.

cum Mamertinum praefectum praetorio ab urbe regressum, quo quaedam perrexerat correcturus, Avitianus ex vicario peculatus detulerat reum This is the last of the nine times that Claudius Mamertinus (*PLRE* I, Mamertinus 2), consul in 362, is mentioned in the *Res Gestae*. He made his entry as *comes sacrarum largitionum* in 21.8.1 (q.v.) and is recorded as *praefectus praetorio Italiae, Africae et Illyrici* in 26.5.5 (q.v.). In his capacity of PPO he was succeeded by Vulcacius Rufinus, as Amm. correctly states in the next section. Chronologically Amm. is wrong, however, as Seeck, 1906, 485–486 was the first to note. It is attested by the Theodosian Code that Rufinus was already in function in 365 (see for references the next note), which falsifies Amm.'s statement here that it was shortly after Gratian was proclaimed Augustus on 24 Augustus 367 that Avitianus accused Mamertinus and so caused his career to come to an end. Since Claudius Avitianus (*PLRE* I, Avitianus 2) had been vicar in Africa in 362–363 (*ILS* 5534; *Cod. Theod.* 8.5.15; 11.28.1; 15.3.2; *Cod. Iust.* 8.10.7), it seems likely to assume that the peculation affair (see for *peculatus* the note ad 27.3.2 *ad vicem*) had its origin in this province during the time that Mamertinus was Avitianus' superior there. Literature on vicars in the Late Roman Empire is cited at the end of the note ad 22.11.1 *Julianus*. For *urbs* = Rome see the note ad 27.3.2 *Terentius*.

In 27.3.2 *peculatus reum detulerat Orfitum* (q.v.) the pluperfect *detulerat* is wholly appropriate. This is not the case in the present text, where one would expect *detulit* with the same cursus as a result. It seems impossible to find a satisfactory explanation. See for *correcturus*, 'in order to put right', the note ad 21.3.2 *negotium*.

- 7.2** *cui ideo Vulcacius successit Rufinus, omni ex parte perfectus et velut apicem senectutis honoratae praetendens* Cf. for *ideo* referring back to some cause e.g. 15.8.16 *ideo censorum voces sunt aestimatae, non militum* about the soldiers' correct judgement of the newly appointed Caesar Julian, 25.3.23 *quibus ideo iam silentibus*, 'when those (who had been chided by Julian for crying at his impending death) therefore kept silent'. For Vulcacius Rufinus (*PLRE* I, Rufinus 25 cf. the note ad 21.12.24 *potiore*) the post of *praefectus praetorio Italiae, Africae et Illyrici* came at the very end of a long career, in which inter alia he could boast of a consulship (in 347). He must have entered the prefecture of Italy, Illyricum and Africa between 26

April 365 (*Cod. Theod.* 8.5.26, addressed to Mamertinus in this function; cf. the previous note) and 21 June 365 (*Cod. Theod.* 9.30.3 and 12.1.66). His death is mentioned by Amm. in 27.11.1. Rufinus was ‘perfect in every respect’, a rare phenomenon by all accounts, as Cicero notes in *Amic.* 79; cf. also *de Orat.* 1.71 about the qualities vital for an orator. The phrase is used to denote the flawlessness of various entities: the fully equipped *legio* (*Veg. mil.* 2.10.12), a remark of Cicero (*Macr. Comm.* 2.3.16), the completed universe (*Macr. Sat.* 1.8.8). This implies that the new PPO was a perfect old gentleman, who ‘displayed the peak of a distinguished old age’. For this phrase Amm. turns to Cicero’s *Cato Maior de Senectute*: *apex est autem senectutis auctoritas* (60). Powell ad loc. mentions the parallel and notes that this “is the only instance of this metaphor in classical Latin”. Cicero continues with some examples, concluding with these words: *habet senectus honorata praesertim tantam auctoritatem ut ea pluris sit quam omnes adolescentiae voluptates* (61), in which *senectus honorata* puts Amm.’s reference beyond doubt. The reader may feel relieved at the fact that there were, after all, irreproachable senior officials. Unfortunately, there is a snag somewhere, viz. in *velut*, which probably colours the entire phrase *apicem senectutis honoratae praetendens*, indicating that it was merely an outward display. See for *praetendere* in a negative sense the notes ad 23.5.11 *etenim* and 25.9.4 *iuris iurandi*.

sed lucrandi opportunas occasiones occultationis spe numquam praetermittens Vulcarius Rufinus had an expert eye for every opportunity to gain some material profit, never failing to take advantage of it. He may not have been as bad as Musonianus, *in totum lucrandi aviditate sordescens* (15.13.2), or the detestable courtiers Julian got rid of, *lucra ex omni odorantes occasione* (22.4.3, q.v.), but he only restrained himself because he did not want to be found out.

qui nactus copiam principis Orfitum ex praefecto urbis solutum exsilio patrimonio reintegrata iactura remitti fecit in lares TLL IV 909.35–36 suggests that *copia* here is a synonym of *aditus*; indeed OLD s.v. 8b offers some examples of *copia* denoting “facilities to approach a person”, inter alia Curt. 4.5.20 *postero die Pharnabazi copiam fore adfirmant*, Tac. Ann. 11.2.1 *neque data senatus copia*. There are short notes on the term *princeps* ad 20.2.1 and 20.4.12. Here Valentinian is meant, of course. See for the Orfitus affair the note ad 27.3.2 *ad vicem praemii*. The verb *reintegrare* usually means ‘to revive, to renew’, rarely ‘to repair’, as in Caes. Gal. 7.31.4 *ut deminutae copiae reintegrarentur*; Amm. 25.3.4 *quae dum sine respectu*

periculi sui redintegrare festinat comes near. See for *facere* with a.c.i. TLL VI 1.115.37 sqq. and Szantyr 356, and for the mainly poetic use of *lar(es)* referring to a person's home the note ad 21.5.12 *ille innoxius*.

- 7.4** *Et quamquam Valentinianus, homo propalam ferus, inter imperitandi exordia, ut asperitatis opinionem molliret, impetus truces retinere nonnumquam in potestate animi nitebatur* This concessive clause introduces an amazing description of Valentinian's character, which for the reader appears out of thin air. Up to this point in the author's report on the Pannonians' reign there are only two brief hints at flaws in Valentinian's spiritual make-up: 26.4.4 (about both brothers) *erant in inquirendis rebus graviore quam in componendis* (q.v.) and 27.6.14 *minax imperator et nimius* (q.v.). All of a sudden the reader now encounters a devastating characterization, in which three related words stand out: *ferus*, *asperitas*, *trux*, a sinister triad. Expecting his readers' amazement, the author immediately comes up with an explanation. In the early phase of Valentinian's emperorship, about which he had written up till now, the emperor had, at times, done his best to keep his evil inclinations under control. One is reminded of the brief portrait of Rusticus Iulianus in 27.6.2: the political climate had forced this horrible man 'to make a sympathetic impression' (*lenis videri cogeatur et mollior*, q.v.), but also of Tacitus' report on the notable change in the conduct of both Tiberius and Sejanus after the death of Livia: *tunc velut frenis exsoluti proruperunt* (*Ann.* 5.3.1; cf. also Suet. *Tib.* 42.1 about Tiberius at Capri: *cuncta simul vitia male diu dissimulata tandem profudit*. Alföldi, 1952, 42 ff. protests vigorously against Amm.'s characterization of Valentinian.

Paschoud, 1992, 77 notes that "rien jusqu'ici dans le récit d'Ammien ne peut justifier une accusation d'évidente sauvagerie". Apart from the savage ferocity expressed by *ferus*, *asperitas* and *trux*, the most remarkable word is indeed *propalam*, 'in full view, without concealment'. The author has not given any example of this. "*Ferus* and *feritas* refer almost exclusively to barbarians", Seager 55, but eunuchs are also prone to it: *feri et acidi semper* (18.5.4); Maximinus was *homo ferus* (28.1.33). In 30.5.19 Amm. reports a repulsive incident: when Valentinian's horse resisted him, when he tried to mount it, the emperor, *innata feritate concitus*, ordered the groom's right hand to be cut off. Only the intervention of an official prevented the order from being carried out.

The phrase *inter exordia* is idiosyncratic of Amm.; cf. *inter exordia principatus* (21.1.4, 25.9.3), with a gerund 21.3.3 *interque dimicandi exordia*, 21.16.8 *inter imperandi exordia*. It was not Valentinian's objective to

‘soften’ his harsh behaviour, but his ‘reputation for harshness’. See for the various meanings of *asperitas* the note ad 24.5.12 *consideratis* and specifically for such treatment of others the note ad 24.3.8 *inter secunda*. In order to salvage his reputation, he strove “on various occasions” (OLD s.v. *nonnumquam*) to be in command of his ‘savage impulses’; cf. 22.14.3 *motumque in animi retinens potestate*. Summing up, according to the present text *feritas* was Valentinian’s prime characteristic, this generated *impetus truces*, which, if not curbed, resulted in overt *asperitas*. The phrase *retinere* (or *tenere*) *in potestate* usually occurs in military and political contexts or as a juridical term. The present text reminds of Julian at Antioch: in spite of various irritations, *tacens tamen motumque in animi retinens potestate sollemnia celebrabat* (22.14.3, q.v.).

serpens tamen vitium et dilatum licentius erupit ad perniciem plurimorum, quod auxit ira acerbius effervescens Although editors have understandably accepted V’s *dilatum*, because the phrase can be explained as a shortened version of: ‘a moral failing (*vitium*) the appearance of which had been postponed’, Cornelissen’s *dissimulatum* (1886, 288) may well be right, in view of 28.1.24 *tot malis dissimulatis paulatimque serpentibus*, not referred to by Cornelissen himself; cf. also Suet. *Tib.* 42.1, quoted above in the note ad *Et quamquam*. Cf. for *serpere* denoting the slow and stealthy progress of an evil: *Ita serpit illud insitum natura malum consuetudine peccandi libera* (Cic. *Ver.* 3.177), *crescit et serpit quotidie malum* (Liv. 39.16.3), and for *erumpere ad* (or *in*) *perniciem* Cic. *Har.* 4 *erupturum illud malum aliquando, si impunitum fuisset, ad perniciem civitatis*, Liv. 34.61.7 *in occulto concoqui, quod mox in omnium perniciem erupturum esset*, Tac. *Ann.* 12.41.3 (*pravitas*) *eruptura in publicam perniciem*. The ‘seething anger’ may have been inspired by a phrase in the preface of Seneca’s *De ira*: One can hide other emotions, but *ira se profert et in faciem exit, quantoque maior hoc effervescit manifestius* (1.1.5), and thus serves as a prelude for some allusions to this treatise in the rest of the section.

Ira and its cognates occur over seventy times in the *Res Gestae*, a number which is not excessive in comparison with Livy (more than five times as many instances) and Tacitus (a little less than the double amount), but larger than what is found in Caesar and Suetonius (both fewer than ten occurrences) and the *Historia Augusta* (nearly forty occurrences). Roughly a third of Amm.’s instances concerns all emperors with the exception of Jovian. Remarkably, Julian is well represented; cf. e.g. *ira sufflabatur interna* (22.14.2, q.v.) because of the Antiochenes’ jokes about him, *concitus ira immani* (24.3.2) because of an unexpected

Persian raid, *iratus et frendens* (24.5.6) for a similar reason. See on anger in the *Res Gestae* Seager 34–36 and Brandt, 1999, 167 ff.

hanc enim ulcus esse animi diuturnum interdumque perpetuum prudentes definiunt nasci ex mentis mollitia consuetum id asserentes argumento probabili, quod iracundiores sunt incolumibus languidi et feminae maribus et iuvenibus senes et felicibus aerumnosi Amm. now adds a short lecture on anger, basing himself on the theories of ‘competent wise men’. See for this meaning of *prudens* 22.14.5 *ut prudens definivit* (q.v.) and Tac. *Dial.* 32.3 *praecepta prudentium*; Güngerich ad loc. regards *prudentes* as a synonym of *philosophi*, with specific emphasis on the ethical aspects of philosophy. This would fit the present passage, too. It is, however, also possible that Amm.’s *prudentes* are not philosophers in the strict sense of the word. Cf. the first section of the commentary on Cicero’s *Somnium Scipionis* by Augustine’s pupil Favonius Eulogius, in which this commentator emphasizes the difference with Plato’s *Politeia*: Cicero warned that the ideas on the immortality of the soul <*nec*> *somniantium philosophorum esse commenta nec fabulas incredibiles, quas Epicurei derident, sed prudentium coniecturas* (Fav. Eul. 1.1). This implies that *prudentes* are a different class of experts, to be preferred to philosophers.

Lindenbrog seems to have been the first scholar who tried to determine the identity of the *prudentes* in question. His reference to Plato, *Theaetetus* 144 a 6–8 is not felicitous, since in that passage entirely different categories are said to be prone to anger: οἱ τε ὀξεῖς ὥσπερ οὗτος καὶ ἀγχίνοι καὶ μνήμονες ὡς τὰ πολλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὰς ὀργὰς ὀξύρροποι εἰσι, ‘keen people of his type, who are ready of wit and have a good memory are, generally speaking, quickly inclined to anger’. In contrast, his quotation from Aristotle, *Rhetorica* 2.2.10 (1379 a 16–18) is somewhat more relevant: διὸ κάμνοντες, πενόμενοι, ἐρῶντες, διψῶντες, ὅλως ἐπιθυμοῦντες καὶ μὴ κατορθοῦντες ὀργίλοι εἰσὶ καὶ εὐπαρόρμητοι, “wherefore the sick, the necessitous, the lovesick, the thirsty, in a word, all who desire something and cannot obtain it, are prone to anger and easily excited” (tr. Freese). Especially the first group is reminiscent of Amm.’s *languidi*. However, Lindenbrog’s reference to some passages in Seneca’s *De ira* clinches the matter: Amm.’s *prudentes* refers in fact to only one person, as the passages in question will quickly reveal. Seneca’s words are: *iracundissimi infantes senesque et aegri sunt, et invalidum omne natura querulum est* (*De ira* 1.13.5), *Iracundia nihil amplum decorumque molitur; contra mihi videtur veterinosi et infelicitis animi, inbecillitatis sibi consciū, saepe indolescere...* *Ita ira muliebre maxime ac puerile vitium est* (ib. 1.20.3), *puer-*

orum feminarumque irae acres magis quam graves sunt... senes difficiles et queruli sunt, ut aegri et convalescentes (ib. 2.19.4), *iracundiores sunt valetudine aut aetate fessi* (ib. 3.9.4). The quoted words function within various arguments, but they contain the same message: those who for reasons of physical health, sex, age or unhappiness can be regarded as weak are more prone to anger. Valentinian is clearly indicated by the first and third factor: in the forty-seventh year of his life, he has entered the phase of *senectus* and his health obviously leaves something to be desired, but up till now Amm. has never referred to him as feeling wretched.

Of Amm.'s three instances of *ulcus* only 17.11.4 *tegenderis causa deformis* has a literal meaning. The other example is 21.16.15 *intestinis ulceribus rei publicae* (q.v.). Cf. for such metaphorical use Sen. *Tranq.* 2.12 (*mentes*) *in quas cupiditates velut mala ulcera eruperunt*. See for *probabilis* in a general philosophical sense, not its specific meaning in the Academical way of thinking, TLL X 2.1448.52–65 and the notes ad 20.2.3 *quibus apertas* and 23.5.11 *etenim ut*.

Having donned the garb of a prosecutor, Amm. now displays his evidence, ordered in three pairs. In § 5 he mentions two cases in which individuals fell victim to Valentinian's ferocity. Then follow two examples of his cruelty towards local councils (§ 6–7) and finally two general habits of his harshness (§ 8). What these six examples have in common is Valentinian's dislike of interference in what he regards as efficient government. However, none of the cases is expounded with detailed precision, so that at least modern readers, who try to find a system in the emperor's wrath by reconstructing the affairs, are seriously inconvenienced. It may well be that contemporary readers, above all those with experience in the administration, were better equipped to identify the various situations.

7.5–8

Eminuit tamen per id tempus inter alias humilium neces mors Dioclis ex comite largitionum Illyrici, quem ob delicta brevia flammis iussit exuri See for Amm.'s use of *tamen*, when the narrative is resumed, the note ad 20.5.1 *his tamen*. In the note ad 25.1.19 *eminuit tamen* Amm.'s other instances of *eminuit* are quoted; see also the discussion of a telling example in Sabbah 396–397. Amm.'s *per id tempus* is synonymous with *inter imperandi exordia* in § 4, i.e. right at the beginning of Valentinian's emperorship. The meaning of *alias humilium neces* is: 'executions of other people, viz. *humiles*'; other examples of such a Grecizing use of *alius* are listed in TLL I 1625.75–1626.7. Perhaps the best known Greek example is Hom.

7.5

Od. 6.83–84: (the mules) φέρον δ' ἐσθῆτα καὶ αὐτὴν (Nausicaa), οὐκ οἶη· ἅμα τῇ γε καὶ ἀμφίπολοι κίον ἄλλαι. Some Latin examples: *Liv.* 7.8.1 *primores...volgus aliud*; see Oakley's note ad *uolgus aliud*, *Tac. Ann.* 3.42.2 *paucique equitum...aliud vulgus*; see Koestermann ad loc. Alföldi, 1952, 17 takes *Illyrici* with *Dioclis* ("another Illyrian, Diocles"), but it seems better to see in Diocles (*PLRE* I, Diocles) a former *comes largitionum* of Illyricum, which makes him one of the two diocesan *comites largitionum* known by name. Cf. Delmaire, 1989, 189 and see for Diocles' function the notes ad 20.11.5 *Ursulus* and 22.3.7 *ad eum*. "Normalmente la condena a la hoguera ha estado ligado a los delitos de lesa majestad, religiosos o sexuales" (Arce, 1974, 331). In the case of Diocles we can only guess as to why he was punished (pace Lenski, 2002, 273: "burned alive for peculation"). See for *brevis*, 'small', the note ad 23.6.16 *si avicula*. Of all the Roman civilians condemned to the stake who are mentioned in the *Res Gestae* (see 21.12.20; 22.3.11; 28.1.28–29; 29.1.38 [Simonidem] *iusserat flammis exuri*; 29.1.44; 29.3.5), Diocles was the highest in rank. It apparently did not help him that he belonged to the *honestiores* and as such should not have been subject to this kind of punishment (cf. for this the note ad 21.12.20 *exustus est vivus*). It was hard luck for him to live under an emperor who *poenas per ignes augebat et gladios* (30.8.6).

et Diodori ex agente in rebus triumque apparitorum potestatis vicariae per Italiam ideo necatorum atrociter, quod apud eum questus est comes Diodorum quidem adversus se civiliter implorasse iuris auxilium, officiales vero iussu iudicis ausos monere proficiscentem, ut responderet ex lege At first sight this episode seems to imply that Valentinian was not merely cruel, but completely crazy. In fact, however, it is an illustration of his inclination to inflict excessive punishment, certainly not of any madness. As is pointed out by Martroye, 1922, a correct interpretation of *civiliter* is crucial for the understanding of the facts. Rolfe's translation "as was his right" is not correct; the adverb is here a legal t.t., "im Wege des Zivilprozesses" (Heumann-Seckel s.v. 3), forming a contrast with *criminaliter*. See *Cod. Theod.* 9.10.3 *civiliter super possidendo agat aut impleta sollemnitate iuris crimen violentiae obponat*. Martroye argues that Diodorus (*PLRE* I, Diodorus 3) avoided the latter form, which he ought to have chosen in view of some form of abuse of power by the unnamed *comes*, for which he is said to *implorasse iuris auxilium*. The reason of his avoidance was probably his fear of a possible *talio*, expressed e.g. in the *interpretatio* added to *Cod. Theod.* 9.10.3: *si probare non potuerit quem dixerat violentum, eandem poenam*

suscipiat, quam ille quem inpetit convictus potuisset excipere, “if he should not be able to prove that the person whom he had mentioned employed violence, he shall receive the same penalty as that which the person whom he charged could have received if he had been convicted” (tr. Pharr). However, according to Martroye, because of this action Diodorus fell out of the frying pan into the fire, exposing himself to another danger, viz. the accusation of *calumnia*, which could result in very severe punishment: *Calumniari est falsa crimina intendere... Calumniatoribus poena lege Remmia irrogatur* (Dig. 48.16.1–3). The three *apparitores* (or *officiales*), who had cooperated with Diodorus, had had the nerve to summon the *comes* to appear in court ‘at the moment of his departure’. Referring to Amm. 15.5.8 *dissidens a mandatis, quae proficiscenti sunt data*, Martroye argues that the *comes* was leaving the court at Milan on a mission ordered by the emperor. If Martroye’s explanation is basically correct, it becomes clear that Valentinian’s retaliatory measures were undoubtedly cruel, but also that the questionable actions for which punishment was inflicted were indeed reprehensible. The succinctness of the report also gives a glimpse of the readership which Amm. had in mind: he expected the information to be sufficient for the readers to understand the legal background of the affair.

Martroye tried as hard as he could to explain the term *civiliter*, but did not pay attention to the word *comes*, which is crucial for an alternative interpretation. According to Müller, 1905, 631–632 (followed by e.g. Seyfarth in the translation of his bilingual edition and Marié, 1984, 257 n. 248), the *comes* of the present text (*PLRE* I, Anonymus 154) is the *comes rei militaris Italiae*, the military commander who had under his command the *tractus Italiae circa Alpes* (*Not. Dign. Occ.* 1.30–31; 5.127; 24.4–5). This officer, Müller argues, appealed to the emperor because he was indignant at the fact that he, a military commander, had had to appear before a civilian, not a military judge, viz. the *vicarius Italiae*, and that the *apparitores* of this judge had summoned him to court.

Müller’s argumentation is based on the antithesis between military and civil officials and not, like Martroye’s theory, on that between *civiliter* and *criminaliter* (*civiliter* here means according to Müller “lediglich ‘ordnungsmäßig, gesetzmäßig’”; he refers for this to 21.16.9, where, however, the word has a different nuance, as is explained in the note ad loc.; cf. further the note ad 26.6.3 *qui iniuncta*). However, by pointing to *Cod. Theod.* 2.1.2 his reasoning indirectly lends support to Martroye’s hypothesis (Martroye himself does not refer to this law). Müller cites the constitution of Constantius from the year 355 to prove that the arrogant

comes was completely wrong in refusing to appear before a civilian judge, for such a procedure was quite normal: *definitum est, provinciarum rectores in civilibus causis litigia terminare, etsi militantes exceperint iurgia vel moverint. ne igitur usurpatio iudicia legesque confundat aut iudicibus ordinariis adimat propriam notionem, ad provinciarum rectores transferantur iurgia civilium quaestionum* ("It has been decided that the governors of the provinces shall terminate litigation in civil cases, even if men in the imperial service should defend or institute suit. In order, therefore, that no usurpation may confound the courts and the law or rob judges ordinary of their proper jurisdiction, the trials of civil suits shall be transferred to the governors of the provinces", tr. Pharr, who notes with respect to *militantes*: "apparently soldiers here, though the imperial service, *militia*, included the civil service as well as the military service").

Curiously, Müller cites only that part of *Cod. Theod.* 2.1.2 which deals with litigation *in civilibus causis*. The law, however, also deals with controversies *in criminalibus causis* and stipulates that in such cases the procedure should be the same as in civil suits, unless the accused belonged to the military. In the latter case the judge should also be a military man: *in criminalibus etiam causis, si miles poposcerit reum, provinciae rector inquirat. si militaris aliquid admisisse firmetur, is cognoscat, cui militaris rei cura mandata est* ("In criminal cases also, if any person in the imperial service should prosecute an accused person, the governor of the province shall try the case. If it should be affirmed that any military man has committed any crime, it shall be tried by the person to whom the direction of military affairs has been entrusted", tr. Pharr; note the difference between *miles*, 'government official', and *militaris*, 'military man'). Amm.'s anonymous *comes* therefore, if indeed he was a *comes Italiae*, had all the more reason to be indignant about the fact that he was tried *civiliter* instead of *criminaliter*: not only was he robbed of the opportunity to use the weapon of *talio* against Diodorus (Martroye), but he also had to accept the *vicarius Italiae* as judge instead of the military judge he was entitled to by virtue of *Cod. Theod.* 2.1.2.

Unfortunately, it is rather unlikely that the *comes* here was a *comes Italiae*. This commander existed when the *Notitia Dignitatum* was written, it is true, but no *comes Italiae* is known from the fourth century. Moreover, "ein Militärkommando in den Alpen dürfte kaum nötig gewesen sein, ehe die Barbaren Gallien und die Donauprovinzen schon völlig in ihre Hand gebracht hatten. Das Amt gehört also erst dem 5. Jhdt. an" (Seeck, 1901a; cf. Kromayer-Veith, 1928, 583 and Jones 191–192). This is not to say that it is impossible to assume that our *comes* was a

comes rei militaris and as such belonged to the military (“*Comes rei militaris* ist ein Titel, der selten in dieser Vollständigkeit gebraucht wird”, Seeck, 1901b). It would explain why the emperor reacted as he did (“the high favour shown by Valentinian to military men” [Jones 142] is well known), but that is only speculative. We simply do not know what kind of *comes* Amm. had in mind here.

Diodorus was a former *agens in rebus* (see for this branch of the civil service the note ad 22.3.11 *Apodemium*), and as such probably served at the time in the office of the vicar of Italy, like the three *apparitores* who are mentioned with him in one breath, for, as Jones 579 notes, “by a system which was certainly in operation under Constantius II, *agentes in rebus* were on retirement sent out to serve as *principes* in the offices of the praetorian and urban prefects...and all vicars” (cf. Giardina, 1977, 13–72 and Clauss, 1980[1981], 32–40).

For *apparitor*, ‘clerk’ (in the office of a civilian or military dignitary), see the notes ad 23.5.6 *apparitoris* and 27.3.10 *apparitores*. The *apparitores* mentioned there served in the office of the praetorian and urban prefect, respectively, their three colleagues of the present text in that of the *vicarius Italiae*, the dignitary who resided in Milan and was in charge of the *regiones annonariae* (Chastagnol, 1963, 353–354; Jones 373; Ausbüttel, 1988, 138). A vicar’s *officium* comprised hundreds of *apparitores* (*Cod. Theod.* 1.12.6; 1.15.5; 1.15.12; 1.15.13). For the judicial functions of vicars in civil suits see Kaser-Hackl, 1996, 535. Perhaps the name of the *vicarius Italiae* referred to here was Faventius: the episode related by Amm. in this section is to be dated to the beginning of Valentinian’s reign (*per id tempus* = *inter imperandi exordia*), i.e. 364–365, and there was a *vicarius Italiae* of that name in office on 31 July 365 (*Cod. Theod.* 11.1.12; *PLRE* I, Faventius).

Szantyr 494 notes that in Late Latin *quidem...vero* is the equivalent of μὲν...δέ. This is Amm.’s only instance of *officialis*, a synonym of *apparitor* (cf. TLL IX 2.512.33 about *officiales*: “qui in officiis publicis militant”). *Respondere* is here a juridical t.t., ‘to appear in court as a defendant’; cf. e.g. Cic. *Att.* 4.18.3 *multi alii urbani ne respondent quidem* (see Shackleton Bailey ad loc. on the ironical *double entendre*).

quorum memoriam apud Mediolanum colentes nunc usque Christiani locum, ubi sepulti sunt, Ad Innocentes appellant The reason why Diodorus and the three *apparitores* were buried as well as remembered in Milan is obviously the fact that it was in this city that they had been executed. *Mediolanum* not only was the residence of the *vicarius per Italiam* to

whose *officium* the victims belonged, but also the city where Valentinian stayed at the beginning of his reign (see the note ad 26.5.4 *Et post haec*; cf. also the note ad 25.8.9 *properare*). More puzzling is the statement that the memory of Diodorus cum suis was cherished by Christians. This implies that the affair had a religious component, which presumably, since Valentinian was himself a Christian, had to do with struggles within Christianity (cf. Neri, 1985, 143 n. 76). Possibly, the accused were of a different denomination from that of the *comes* who complained about them to the emperor and, although Valentinian was a tolerant Christian who remained neutral in religious differences (*hoc moderamine principatus inclaruit, quod inter religionum diversitates medius stetit*, 30.9.5), the emperor's siding with the *comes* against the *officiales* was seen by some Christians as an affront to their conviction.

Marrou, 1951–1952 endeavours to shed light on these enigmatic words. He rightly notes that the phrase *memoriam colere* occurs once in Cicero: *Quapropter memoriam vestri beneficii colam benivolentia sempiterna* (*Red. Pop.* 24), and that Frontinus uses the phrase in a religious context: *Fontium memoria cum sanctitate adhuc extat et colitur* (*Aq.* 4.2). This is indeed quite close to the purport of the present text, but it seems hardly conceivable that Amm. was not influenced by the specifically Christian terminology in which *memoria* denotes the tomb of a venerated saint. See August. *cura mort.* 6, in which passage Augustine makes a persuasive use of the general as well as the specific meaning of *memoria* in order to strengthen his argument. Concerning *Ad Innocentes* Marrou refers to the long history of the cult of king Herod's victims, and to the 'pietra degli Innocenti', which can still be seen in the Milanese church Santo Stefano Maggiore, "sans doute la cuve d'un sarcophage". The tentative conclusion is that in Milan "on ait ainsi vénéré à l'égal de martyrs les victimes d'une condamnation injuste". Marrou marshals a few comparable cases in Russian religious history. See Matthews 437 on the ecclesiastical authorities' difficulties in preserving "the integrity of the cult of martyrs against the claims of impostors".

- 7.6 *Dein cum in negotio Maxentii cuiusdam Pannonii ob exsecutionem a iudice recte maturari praeceptam trium oppidorum ordines mactari iussisset* Henri de Valois notes ad loc.: "Sciendum enim est Curialibus inter cetera id quoque onus incubuisse, ut sententias iudicum executioni mandarent". He refers to *Cod. Theod.* 12.1.39 (1 April 349) *In perpetuum observandum esse sancimus, ut circa iniuriam corporis...cuncti primarii et curiales praecepta a iudicibus exequantur*. Probably, the judge had condemned Maxentius and

ordered that his verdict had to be speedily implemented, an order which the councillors were bound to obey. According to the text of the law just mentioned it cannot have implied corporal punishment (*citra iniuriam corporis*), but we cannot be certain that the law's rules were strictly observed. However, there are no examples of the juridical term *exsecutio* without any further addition denoting execution of the death penalty. It is a general juridical term denoting "die Vollstreckung eines richterlichen Urteils" (Heumann-Seckel s.v. b). It is, for instance, also possible that the councillors collected a considerable fine. Valentinian concerned himself with the fate of his fellow Pannonian, and for unknown reasons decided on an excessive measure. Of Maxentius nothing further is known. He is not mentioned in *PLRE* I.

Note that the historian regards the judge's verdict as correct; otherwise he could not have stated that the judge 'rightly' ordered its speedy implementation. As is remarked in the note ad 20.5.7 *civilis*, the term *iudex* in Amm. is most frequently used in its usual sense of 'judge', but also quite often means 'official', 'functionary'. It would seem that here both meanings should be combined: in view of the fact that *curiales* were involved a provincial governor, for whom jurisdiction was a large part of his duties (cf. Slootjes, 2006, 46–76), must be meant. See for Amm.'s use of the passive of *praecipere* the note ad 20.4.6 *mitti praecipis*. As quite often in the *Res Gestae*, *ordo* here means 'local council'; cf. e.g. 21.12.23 *maxime municipalium ordinum* with the note ad loc., in which the tasks of the *curiales* are dealt with, 22.9.4 *ordo squalens* (q.v.), 22.14.2 *Antiochensi ordine* (q.v.), 25.9.2 *ordo et populus*. Translators tend to render *mactari* rather euphemistically, but Seyfarth's "abzuschlachten" expresses what the author wanted to say.

About the number of victims we are completely in the dark. It is not known which *oppida* are meant and the size of the councils varied greatly, depending on the size of the city. "In the West one hundred seems to have been a common number, but a few cities had bigger councils, 600 in some cases. In the East, where larger councils on the model of the Athenian 500 had been customary, such numbers were generally retained even when the character of the council had been completely changed: Libanius speaks of 600 as being standard in Syrian cities. Small cities, however, might be content with much smaller councils; Tymandus started with only fifty members. On the other hand very large cities might have councils of exceptional size: according to Libanius Antioch should have had 1,200 councillors... The theoretical establishment of the councils had, however, by

the fourth century come to matter very little, as they were normally well below strength" (Jones 724–725). See also the note ad 27.7.7 "*et quid...occidantur*".

interpellavit Eupraxius tunc quaestor et "parcius" inquit "agito, piissime principum; hos enim, quos interfici tamquam noxios iubes, ut martyras, id est divinitati acceptos, colit religio Christiana". Cf. for *interpellare*, 'to break in', 'to impede', 21.12.9 *nullo interpellante* (q.v.). Eupraxius was *tunc quaestor* (*sacri palatii*), the post to which he, formerly *magister memoriae*, had been promoted shortly after Gratian was proclaimed Augustus on 24 Augustus 367 (27.6.14, q.v.). Eupraxius (*PLRE* I, Eupraxius) was still QSP in 370 (28.1.25), but on 14 February 374 he was *praefectus urbis Romae* (*Cod. Theod.* 11.29.5). The episode related here must have taken place before that date and after 24 Augustus 367. Valentinian stayed in Gaul at the time.

As in 27.6.8, *parcius* here means 'with restraint'. Concerning the form of the superlative of *pius* Cicero has this to say: *Tū porro ne pius quidem, sed piissimos quaeris et, quod verbum omnino nullum in lingua Latina est, id propter tuam divinam pietatem novum inducis* (*Phil.* 13.43). It is indeed scarce in literary texts, but occurs regularly in inscriptions, as does *pietissimus*; see Leumann 499. Amm. has three other instances: 23.6.53 *genus piissimum*, 25.3.15 *quibusdam piissimis*, 26.10.13 *causae...piissimae*. Viansino regards *piissime* in the present text as "ironico", but one cannot imagine Eupraxius treating his angered sovereign in such a manner; it is, rather, an appeal to a quality which an emperor should have. This does not alter the fact that Eupraxius' words, addressed to a Christian emperor and coming from a man who presumably was a Christian himself (Chastagnol, 1962, 190 with n. 151; Von Haehling, 1978, 381), are enigmatic. The persecutions of Christians were long past (those ascribed to Julian by Christian authors can be ignored, of course) and new 'martyrs' in the strict sense of the word were therefore unthinkable. Cf. verses 11–12 of Ambrose's hymn on the finding of the bodies of the martyrs Protasius and Gervasius (number 11 in Fontaine's edition): *nequimus esse martyres, / sed repperimus martyres*. Possibly, Eupraxius wanted to warn Valentinian not to behave like a persecutor of the past, who killed innocent people 'as if they were guilty'; such people were then venerated as martyrs and something comparable might happen now; see above the note ad § 5 *quorum memoriam*. Amm. uses the official ecclesiastical t.t. *martyr* in one other passage, viz. 22.11.10; see the note ad *qui...martyres appellantur*, in which it is argued that Amm. is well

informed about its meaning. Henri de Valois therefore rightly points out that *id est divinitati acceptos* should not be regarded as a definition, “quasi velit dicere Martyras, ἐν ἁνθ’ ἐνὸς, ut Graeci dicunt, idem esse ac divinitati acceptos, seu θεοφιλεῖς”. According to Henri de Valois the assumption that Amm. did not know “μάρτυρας idem esse ac testes” is impossible. This remark is not relevant: in its specifically Christian sense μάρτυς was not translated by *testis* in the Western Church, but substituted by the loan word *martyr*. Eupraxius adds that martyrs are ‘dear to God’, an obviously correct characterization, which was inter alia supported by the martyrological interpretation of Psalm 72.14: “and their blood will be precious in His eyes”. The expression *id est* occurs fourteen times in Amm., with various meanings. In 30.4.3 it concerns the Latin rendering of a Greek phrase; 23.6.14 is a comparable case: *vitaxae, id est magistri equitum*, as is 22.15.9 *ad cataractas, id est praeruptos scopulos* (q.v.); 26.8.5 *id est ventris ministrum et gutturis* (q.v.) is a sarcastic variation; 20.11.28 (on the outward appearance of the rainbow) *fulva, id est paulo excitatior quam lutea* (q.v.) is a tentative description. The clearest parallel of the present text is 17.4.13 *Romae... id est in templo mundi totius*, where *id est* does not introduce some rendering or description, but an implication. See further Pepe, 1973. To sum up: Eupraxius’ warning might be paraphrased as follows: ‘as a paragon of piety you should refrain from imitating the persecutors by executing innocent people, for such people are dear to God like the martyrs and they are venerated by your fellow Christians’. Both Seyfarth and Marié wrongly note that Valesius wanted to athetize the words *id est divinitati acceptos*.

In the third hexad of the *Res Gestae* the Christian religion is denoted seven times by *ritus Christianus*; the present text is the only exception. *Christiana lex* can be found in 15.7.6 (q.v.), 20.7.7, 25.10.15, *cultus Christianus* in 21.2.4. *Christiana religio* is only paralleled by 21.16.18. In all probability Amm. each time chooses the word which suits the style and rhythm of the entire sentence. In the present text none of the other phrases would have resulted in an ordinary cursus.

cuius salutarem fiduciam praefectus imitatus Florentius, cum in re quadam venia digna audisset eum percitum ira iussisse itidem ternos per ordines urbium interfici plurimarum Amm. uses the word *fiducia* most often in a positive sense; cf. e.g. the combination with the adj. *speciosus* in 15.7.4, 19.11.3, 21.10.7 (see the note ad *eminuit*), 23.2.1 (q.v.), 27.8.3, 29.5.10. The highest praise occurs in the present text: the confidence of Eupraxius, which

Florentius imitated, promoted well-being. The adjective *salutaris* qualifies *dea* (19.11.6), *genius* (15.8.21, 16.12.13, 24.2.21) and *sidus* (21.10.2, 22.9.14). In the present case it is well chosen, in that it does not only praise the two courageous functionaries, but also implies that their confidence proved successful. Florentius (*PLRE* I, Florentius 5; cf. Clauss, 1980 [1981], 156–157) is attested as PPO Galliarum on 3 June 367 (*Cod. Theod.* 13.10.5), but the terminus post quem for his interference is 24 August 367, since Eupraxius, whose example he followed, became QSP after that date. See for *percitus* with the abl. causae of a word denoting an emotion the note ad 20.11.5 *dolore percitus*. Why did Valentinian order the execution of three *decuriones* in a large number of cities? Florentius' intervention provides a plausible answer.

“et quid agitur”, ait “si oppidum aliquod curiales non habuerit tantos? inter reliqua id quoque suspendi debet, ut, cum habuerit, occidantur.” Whereas Eupraxius had appealed to the emperor's conscience, Florentius reveals the absurdity of his order. For untraceable reasons Seyfarth has not accepted two excellent emendations of Petschenig, viz. *agimus* for V's *agitus* and *habet* for V's *haberet*. In the first case Florentius asks: ‘what do we (who have to carry out your orders) do?’. It must, however, be admitted that *agitur* can be defended, which is not the case with *habuerit*, because this destroys the subtlety of Florentius' use of two different tenses. First he uses the ind. praes., because it is not some strange hypothesis that occasionally a town simply does not have (*non habet*) three councillors, but actual practice: in the course of the fourth century the desertion from the *munera* involved in the membership of the councils was considerable (cf. e.g. Jones 757–763; Ward-Perkins, 1998, 373–382; Demandt, 2007², 461–462; see also the notes ad 21.12.23 *maxime* and 22.9.8 *alii querentes*).

In a number of cases, therefore, the implementation of Valentinian's decision has to be postponed until the day that the town in question will have acquired (*habuerit*) a larger number of *curiales*. In other words, he implies that towns will have to persuade people to become a *curialis* in order to be put to death. See for *et* “introducing an ironical question” (OLD s.v. *et* 15) the note ad 25.5.3 *“et quid ageritis?”* Amm. rarely uses forms of *aliquis* etc. after *si*: the only other cases are 14.6.12, 22.11.11 and 23.5.14 (q.v.). Florentius' own conclusion is well explained by Wistrand, 1944, who argues that *suspendere* here means ‘to defer’. Amm. certainly uses the verb with this meaning: 23.5.4 *orantis suspendi expeditionem* (q.v.), 29.6.4, 30.10.1. Florentius concludes that *id*, the exe-

cution of three councillors, has to be postponed *inter reliqua*, for which the same holds true. What does *reliqua* denote? Wistrand's answer is: "*reliqua* eodem sensu quo *reliqua debitorum* vel *tributorum* intelligenda esse arbitror". The towns in question had been unable to collect the taxes they had to transfer to the imperial administration. Postponement was therefore inevitable, but the absence of councillors to pay the (death) penalty for this necessarily entailed the same conclusion. Valentinian's severity with regard to the collection of taxes is also mentioned by Zosimus (4.16.1): Οὐαλεντινιανὸς δὲ δόξας πως τὸν πρὸς τοὺς Γερμανοὺς πόλεμον διατιθέναι μετρίως, βαρύντατος ἦν ταῖς ἀπαιτήσεσι τῶν εἰσφορῶν σφοδρότερον ἐπικείμενος καὶ ὑπὲρ τὸ σύνηθες αὐτάτας εἰσπράττων, 'Valentinian, who seemed to manage the German war with moderate success, was too oppressive in his demands for taxes, by which he exceeded usual practice'. On the other hand, in 30.9.1 Amm. remarks that the emperor was *in provinciales admodum parcus, tributorum ubique molliens sarcinas*. "Die Widersprüchlichkeit der literarischen Überlieferung setzt sich in entsprechend ambivalenten modernen Rekonstruktionen fort", Schmidt-Hofner, 2008, 119 observes. He discusses extensively (pp. 117–187) Valentinian's fiscal policy and its assessment by modern historians.

ad hanc inclementiam illud quoque accedebat dictu dirum et factu After two cases of individual victims (§ 5) and two of local councils (§ 6 and 7) Amm. now lists two ugly general customs concerning the way in which people are dealt with. The tense changes to imperfect to denote that such behaviour was normal practice. Amm. recapitulates the contents of § 5–7 in *hanc inclementiam*. It should be noted that *inclementia* does not occur at all frequently and, moreover, some of the occurrences do not concern persons, but e.g. the climate, as in *caeli inclementia* (15.4.3). The first extant personal instance is Verg. *A.* 2.602 *divum inclementia*. Amm.'s only other example of a person is 15.9.7 *Harpali inclementiam vitans*. This comparative rarity implies that Amm. deliberately chose the word as an antithesis to the imperial virtue of *clementia*, so conspicuous in Julian; see the note ad 21.12.20 *placabilis imperator*. Amm.'s only other example of the rare combination of *dictu* and *factu* is 18.7.7 *haec et huiusmodi factu dictuque tristia*; cf., however, also 31.8.7 *facta dictu visuque praedira*.

7.8

quod, si quis eum adisset iudicium potentis inimici declinans aliumque sibi postulans dari, hoc non impetrato ad eundem, quem metuebat, licet multa praetenderet iusta, remittebatur See for *potentis* the note ad 27.10.10 *nullo potentium*.

Valentinian was deaf to the reasonable requests of people who, being engaged in a trial (*iudicium*), challenged a judge because of his personal enmity. As a synonym of *vitare* the verb *declinare* seems to be used here instead of the t.t. *reicere*. See for the *reiectio* of a judge Kaser-Hackl, 1996, 195 ff. and especially Forcellini s.v. II 2. On the other hand, *postulare* is a juridical t.t., see TLL X 2.41–50. Although *praetendere* tends to be used concerning dubious statements, it is in principle a *vox media*; see the note ad 23.5.11 *etenim ut*. In the present text this is obviously the case: the people concerned put forward ‘many legitimate arguments’. The subjunctive *adisset* is iterative and the imperfect *remittebatur* also denotes regular practice.

itemque aliud audiebatur horrendum, quod, ubi debitorum aliquem egestate obstrictum nihil reddere posse dicebat, interfici debere pronuntiabat Again, the imperfect forms indicate that not a specific case, but a custom is meant. The phrase ‘fettered by poverty’ seems to be Amm.’s own. Only Cic. *Fam.* 11.10.5 comes near. There Brutus writes that his financial problems have grown to such proportions *ut omnis iam meos amicos aere alieno obstrinxerim*. Seyfarth, Marié and Viansino seem to be right in accepting Clark’s emendation *dicebat*. In any case, *dicebat* is nonsensical and Accursius’ *dicebatur* looks like a less felicitous conjecture. The mistake may have something to do with the fact that the *Res Gestae* has far fewer instances of the present stem of *discere* when compared to the perfect tenses. There is one other case where editors accept a similar correction: 31.4.6 *discere* in a quotation from Verg. *G.* 2.106. Remarkably, some editors of the *Georgica* print the unlikely *dicere*.

The use of the verb *pronuntiare* deserves attention. It is normally used with an *Agens* who is an authoritative person, in an official capacity, e.g. as a judge: “als Richter einen Auspruch tun, ein Urteil fällen” (Heumann-Seckel), or as an expert: 15.9.8 about the Druids: *pronuntiarunt animas immortales*, 27.11.4 (introducing a quotation) *quod vitium reprehendens iam pronuntiat Cicero*. Amm.’s use of the verb suggests that what Valentinian used to say about penniless debtors was not some irritated remark, but had the air of an expert conclusion. It is out of the question that the emperor in actual fact ‘decided’ that insolvent debtors had to be executed. According to Quint. *Inst.* 3.6.84 *in duodecim tabulis debitoris corpus inter creditores dividi licuit*; see also Gel. 20.1.19 and 46–52 and Tert. *Apol.* 4.9, where Waltzing notes that the drastic phrase “veut dire simplement *bona dividere*”. It is indeed likely that the words *TER-TIIS NUNDINIS PARTIS SECANTIO* in the third of the twelve *tabulae*

have caused a serious misunderstanding; see the explanation in Flach, 2004, 193–195. Cannata, 1983 has no doubts about the “autenticità del testo decenvirale”. Not being able to pay off one’s debts did not result in a death penalty in the days of the Republic, and similarly, in the late fourth century, despite the climate of severe punishments, the death penalty in such cases is inconceivable. It definitely seems that Amm. has wilfully ‘upgraded’ a hyperbolic quip which Valentinian may have uttered a few times when exasperated by such cases.

Haec autem et similia licenter ideo altiore fastu quidam principes agunt, quod amicis emendandi secus cogitata vel gesta copiam negant After the author’s questionable indictment of Valentinian, which is in truth badly in need of a reply, he now returns to his proper craft: historiography, in a moral vein, as is usual among ancient historians. In the present text this manifests itself in a general observation about the temptations caused by absolute power, especially in the form of an unlimited *licentia*; see on this phenomenon Seager 24–27. In some phrases of this brief section the attentive reader will be reminded of the contrasting performance of Julian. Even he was not entirely free from behaviour which exceeded normal usage: see the note on *vehens licenter* (22.14.3) in a passage criticizing his bigotry. However, with regard to exercising imperial power his own principle was: *licentiam omnem actibus meis exterminans* (25.3.18, q.v.). TLL VI 1.330.74 lists the present instance of *fastus* in the category “*praeualet notio alios despiciendi*”.

7.9

In the causal clause Amm. states the prime source of *licentia*: the deliberate elimination of restraining mechanisms. The rulers in question are inaccessible to wise advice, which is meant to put them on the right track. Such emperors are the very opposite of Julian, who was ready to be corrected by friends: *emendari se, cum devialet a fruge bona, permittens* (25.4.16, see the note ad *levioris*). See for *secus*, ‘wrongly’, the note ad 20.8.11 *nec actum*.

inimicos loqui terrent amplitudine potestatis It has, of course, never dawned upon such autocrats that one could learn something from an enemy. Cicero reports this saying of Cato: *melius de quibusdam acerbos inimicos mereri quam eos amicos qui dulces videantur; illos verum saepe dicere, hos nunquam* (*Amic.* 90). Plutarch devoted a treatise to the subject: *De utilitate ex inimicis capienda* (*Mor.* 86 b–92 f), in which inter alia a question and answer of Diogenes catches the eye: πῶς ἀμυνοῦμαι τὸν ἐχθρόν; – αὐτὸς καλὸς κἀγαθὸς γεγόμενος (88 b). In his instructive survey Fürst,

1997 argues that the idea, which was to have a long history, originated among the Cynics. It is a far cry from the practice of the high and mighty, who prefer to use their huge power to deter their opponents from speaking up. The huge power returns noticeably at the beginning of Valentinian's necrology: *potestatis amplitudo... nudare solita semper animorum interna* (30.7.1). Forcellini s.v. *terrere* II 2c mentions only three cases of *terrere* with inf. instead of the usual *ne* or *quominus*, a construction which is not used by Amm.: Man. 5.577 (which should be 576) *non territus ire*, Culex 239 *terreor, a, tantis insistere, terreor, umbris* and the present text. Since Housman the Manilius passage is no longer valid; in his edition Goold follows his choice *territus illa*. Concerning *amplitudo*, it is worth noting that this word developed into a formal term of address; see TLL I 2005.33–45 and Svennung, 1958, 76 and 79.

nulla autem est correctio pravitatum apud eos, qui, quod velint, effici maximae putant esse virtutis Amm. now widens his observation to a more general interpretation of human behaviour. Unfortunately, both at the beginning and at the end the text of the lemma suffers from problems in the paradosis. However, this does not really hamper the understanding of what Amm. wants to convey. Moreover, some of the conjectures testify to ingenuity rather than to a plausible solution of the problems. This makes it easier to recognize that Adrien de Valois' solution at least comes close to the truth. Again, the contrast with Julian plays a part. See 22.10.3 *praefectis proximisque permittebat, ut fidenter impetus suos aliorum tendentes, atque decebat, monitu opportune frenarent*. Here Julian is said to have fully appreciated the value of restraining mechanisms. The text continues with these 'Ciceronian' words: *monstrabatque subinde se dolere delictis et gaudere correctione* (see the note ad loc.). Adrien de Valois' emendation *correctio* is supported, if not almost proved right, by these words. This may be too strong a statement concerning his emendation of the final part of the lemma, but it deserves to be called plausible. The only question is: should it be *effici* or *efficere*? The latter certainly suits the entire context better: the people in question regard it as a token of their great capabilities 'to achieve what they want' rather than 'that what they want is being achieved'. However, the former is more in line with the manuscript tradition, and, moreover, Amm. has a predilection for the passive infinitive.

CHAPTER 8

Introduction

This chapter describes the troubles in Britain during the period 367–369. For the first time Theodosius the Elder, one of Valentinian's prominent generals and father of the later emperor Theodosius I, appears on the stage. After Valentinian had been informed in the summer of 367 of a *conspiratio barbarica* of Picts, Scots and Attacotti who had overrun Britain, he first despatched his *comes domesticorum* Severus to sort out the problems; afterwards the *magister peditum* Iovinus was sent in order to assess the situation. Only after having received information from these two men did Valentinian decide to send Theodosius to quell the unrest caused by the invading barbarians. Before describing Theodosius' actions in Britain, Ammianus digresses briefly on the situation of Britain – of which he had given an elaborate report in a lost book – and the devastations caused by the invading barbarians (§ 4–5). In the following paragraphs (§ 6–8) we are told how Theodosius crossed the channel followed by elite troops and how he started suppressing predatory enemy groups by dividing his army into small units. After defeating these barbarian groups he entered the city of London as if celebrating an *ovatio*. In London he remained for a while, deliberating carefully how to deal with the rest of the invaders who were still roaming parts of Britain (§ 9). It seems that Theodosius not only had to deal with the barbarians, but also with soldiers in the service of Rome, many of whom for reasons unknown had deserted, as may be concluded from the fact that Theodosius promised a pardon to those who returned to service (§ 10). The chapter ends with the mention of Civilis and Dulcitius, newly appointed to govern Britain. Ammianus continues his account of the problems in Britain and the restoration of order by Theodosius in 28.3.3–6.

Amm.'s report of Theodosius' military actions in Britain is short, and deficient with regard to detail and chronology, in particular in comparison with his account of Theodosius' African campaign (29.5). The reason for this may be that Amm. had no accurate and informative source at his disposal.

Theodosius is described by Amm. foremost as a soldier, and he admires the general for his military skills. Thompson 89–92 and Sabbah 172–173 think that Amm. is too apologetic and eulogistic about him because he was not able to write without restraint during the reign of Theodosius I. There may be a kernel of truth in this statement. It is, however, unlikely, as Seager, 1997 argues, that Ammianus was undermining and criticizing the elder Theodosius by his choice of words in this chapter.

8.1 *Profectus itaque ab Ambianis Treverosque festinans* Amm. returns to the narrative of the military events in the western provinces, which he had broken off at the end of chapter 2 without stating where Valentinian was at that moment. The text of 27.2.10 suggests that he was in or near Paris, but see the commentary ad loc. In any case, Amm. has omitted to mention the time of and reason for Valentinian's departure to Amiens, probably considering it one of those *minutiae ignobiles* which a true historian does not bother to relate (27.2.11).

For Ambiani, or in full Samarobriua Ambianorum (modern Amiens), see Talbert 11, C3. Trier was the capital of *Gallia Belgica I* and in the second part of the third century as well as in the fourth one of the important imperial residences in the western part of the empire; Wightman, 1970; Heinen, 1988² and 1996. After 24 August 367 – Gratian was made Augustus on that date in Amiens (see the note ad 27.6.10 *pro suo*) – the imperial entourage travelled via Rheims, where the presence of the emperor on 8 October is attested (*Cod. Theod.* 9.40.10 and 14.4.4), to Trier to prepare for military campaigns against the Alamanni in the next year; see chapter 10. Valentinian arrived in Trier on 13 October at the latest (*Cod. Iust.* 6.4.2). The arrival of Valentinian and Gratian in Trier was celebrated with the issue of a medaillon FELIX ADVENTUS AUGG; Pearce, 1951; Tomlin, 1973, 153.

nuntio percellitur gravi, qui Britannias indicabat barbarica conspiratione ad ultimam vexatas inopiam The traditional view regarding the chronology of the *conspiratio barbarica* follows Amm.'s narrative sequence of events: Valentinian was informed about the barbarian uprising in Britain after Gratian's nomination as Augustus on 24 August 367 when he was on his way from Amiens to Trier; he first sent Severus, then still *comes domesticorum*, to Britain and subsequently Iovinus, the *magister equitum* (see below § 2). Their visits to Britain took place in the autumn of 367 and used up what was left of that year's campaigning season. E.g.

Demandt, 1972, 84–91, in his discussion of Theodosius' British campaign, follows this chronology. Tomlin, 1974, has suggested another chronological order of the events. He argues that in June 367 Valentinian, after he had heard about the troubles in Britain, travelled from Rheims to Amiens – which is on the way to Boulogne, the port of embarkation for Britain – with reinforcements in response to the news about a British *conspiratio barbarica*; see also Blockley, 1980, 223. He had already sent Severus ahead and subsequently Iovinus to report on the situation; *Severum etiam tum domesticorum comitem misit... correcturum sequius gesta. quo paulo postea revocato Iovinus... eadem loca profectus* (27.8.2). Upon his return from Britain Severus was promoted to the position of *magister peditum* (succeeding Dagalaifus). Tomlin's chronology is more attractive than the traditional view because it is hard to conceive that first Severus and after him Iovinus travelled to Britain, assessed the situation there, and returned to Gaul to inform the emperor – all in the autumn of 367 –, when news about the rebellion only reached Valentinian after 24 August 367. It is not clear why Amm. mentions the news about a barbarian conspiracy after his report of Valentinian's illness and Gratian's elevation; he may just have confused the chronology of the events. Only in § 5 does Amm. mention the barbarians who caused the troubles in Britain: the Picts, the Attacotti, and the Scots.

Amm. opens with a Sallustianism: *Hist.* 2.98.10 *dein proximi consules L. Lucullus et M. Cotta litteris nuntiisque Pompei graviter perculsi*. Cf. the similar phrases with which Amm. introduces reports about barbarian incursions elsewhere, 15.8.1 *Constantium vero exagitabant assidui nuntii deploratas iam Gallias indicantes* and 16.10.20 (imperator) *assiduus nuntiis terrebatur et certis indicantibus Suebos Raetias incursare Quadosque Valeriam*. Only here does Amm. use *conspiratio* in the sense of “coniuratio hostium contra Romanos” (TLL IV 500.11). Elsewhere it has the meaning of ‘scheming’, as in 15.2.10 *conspiratione spadonum iustitia concinnatis mendaciis obumbrata* or ‘concord’, as in 24.5.11 *conspiratione oppugnationum* (q.v.).

The suggestion of Bartholomew, 1984, 181 that the real cause of the troubles in Britain was a food shortage among the Roman troops in that province seems to be based on a misinterpretation of the present text. According to Amm. the *inopia* was the consequence, not the cause of the troubles, and its victims were the provinces (*Britannias*), not the Roman army. Also Bartholomew's interpretation of the “elusive and imprecise expression *conspiratio barbarica*” (p. 182) as referring to illicit practices of Nectaridus and the anonymous predecessor of Civilis (section 10) is untenable. In order to clear the ground for this interpretation,

Bartholomew was obliged to undermine the explicit statement in section 5 that the barbarians involved were the Picti, Attacotti and Scotti. He did this by high-handedly pushing aside sections 4 and 5 as a digression without any direct relevance to the narrative that precedes and follows it, and by manipulating the text of section 5 (q.v.), changing *bellicosa hominum natio, et Scotti* into *bellicosa hominum natio et saeva* (!). Frend, 1992 suggests that the barbarian conspiracy had a destructive impact on the progress of Christianity in Britain.

Nectaridumque comitem maritimi tractus occisum PLRE I, Nectaridus. The only source for him is this passage in Amm. The *comes maritimi tractus* is perhaps the same official as the *comes litoris Saxonici per Britanniam*, mentioned in *Not. Dign. Occ.* 28. Cf., however, Martin, 1969, 415–416 who argues that *maritimus tractus* is not necessarily a synonym or an older designation of *litus Saxonicum* and that therefore two different coasts may be meant and hence two different *comites*. It is not clear to which British coast *maritimus tractus* exactly refers. Colombo ad loc. plausibly suggests it was the south-east coast.

et Fullofauden ducem hostilibus insidiis circumventum PLRE I, Fullofaudes, who appears only in this passage. He was probably *dux Britanniarum*; *Not. Dign. Occ.* 40; Demandt, 1972, 86–87. Amm. does not tell us explicitly what happened to Fullofaudes after he fell into the ambush, but parallel expressions in Amm. and other authors suggest that he was killed, cf. 30.3.7 *oppetit Mallobaudis bellicosi regis insidiis circumventus* and 30.7.7 *ubi insidiis paene perierat circumventus*, V. Max. 5.1. ext. 6. *Hannibal Ti. Gracchum Lucanorum circumventum insidiis cum summo honore sepulturae mandavit*.

- 8.2** *quibus magno cum horrore compertis Severum etiamtum domesticorum comitem misit, si fors casum dedisset optatum, correcturum sequius gesta* Amm. describes Valentinian's reaction to the disturbing news from Britain in almost the same terms as he had used in 27.2.1 after the report of the defeat of Charietto: *Qua clade cum ultimo maerore comperta correcturus sequius gesta Dagalaifus a Parisiis mittitur* (q.v.). For Severus and his function of *comes domesticorum*, see the notes ad 27.6.3 *Severi magistri* and ad *nuntio percellitur* in the previous section. Amm. is fond of conditional phrases of the type *si copiam fors dedisset* (15.10.10, 16.2.2, 16.9.3) in the context of military planning; cf. 16.11.9 *si iuvisset fors*; 27.8.6 *si copiam dedisset fortuna prosperior*; 27.9.6 *si patuisset facultas*; 29.5.32 *si fors copiam dederit*;

30.5.2 *ubi dedisset fors copiam*; 31.7.6 *si fors copiam attulisset*. The phrase occurs in the description of campaigns by, among others, Julian and Valentinian, and so the comment in Seager, 1997 “This caveat might appear to call his *felicitas* into question” is unconvincing.

quo paulo postea revocato Iovinus... eadem loca profectus reverti isdem celeri gradu permisit adminicula petituris exercitus validi The text is badly damaged here. The name of Iovinus has been retrieved by Accursius by combining V's *revocata vinus cadem* with E, which indicates a lacuna after *revocata* of seven letters. See for the *magister equitum* Iovinus, who is also mentioned in 27.2.1, the note ad 26.5.2. *Ad* rather than *in* should be added to *eadem loca*, because Amm. never writes *proficisci in*. For *proficisci ad* cf. 20.4.11 *ad orientem proficisci* and 21.4.7 *profecturus ad longinqua*. V's *permisit* requires a complement in the dative, for which *petituris* would qualify, if a substantivized use of the future participle (‘men who would ask for’) is considered acceptable. There are indeed instances of substantivized future participles, but these concern either a certain type of person, or persons who can easily be supplied from the context. To the first group belong e.g. 14.6.7 *beate perfecta ratione victuro ante alia patriam esse convenit gloriosam* and 30.4.20 *incommoda plurima parum sustinenda recte victuro*. To the second 20.11.20 *utque facile defensuri moenia pellerentur* (q.v.), 25.8.12 *iussum est autem ad implenda haec perrecturis* (q.v.), which refers to Procopius and Memoridus, mentioned in 25.8.8. In 29.1.6 *nomen imperaturi post Valentem*, the name of the future ruler is deliberately left unspecified. *Petituris* does not belong to either of these categories and there is no conceivable reason why the names of the persons involved should be deliberately suppressed. Consequently there is good reason to suppose, as Marié does in her note ad loc., that the names of the persons sent out by Iovinus, have been lost in a lacuna. That must also have been the opinion of Heraeus, who conjectured *reverti isdem* for V's *provertu idem*, in which *isdem* is taken to refer to the persons in the lacuna and at the same time provides the Head for *petituris*. Colombo ad loc. proposes to read <sine> *proventu inde celeri gradu praemisit adminicula petituros*, in which *proventu inde* is much closer to V's *provertu idem* and *praemisit* more attractive than the slightly odd *permisit*. On the other hand, he has to insert the preposition *sine* and change V's *petituris* to *petituros*. The two conjectures are equally ingenious. Fortunately the purport of the two versions is the same: after his arrival in Britain Iovinus orders some of his officers to return with all speed to Valentinian and ask for reinforcement. For *celeri gradu* and similar expressions see the note

ad 20.4.12 *alacri gradu*. See for other instances of *adminicula* denoting military reinforcement the note ad 24.7.8 *adminicula, quae praestolabamur*. The explicative gen. *exercitus validi* stresses once again the gravity of the situation.

id enim instantes necessitates flagitare firmabant The combination *instantes necessitates*, for which cf. 19.11.17 *maturatis, quae necessitates temporis poscebant instantes* is not found in other authors. The only possible subjects of *firmabant* are the officers sent back by Iovinus, which implies an awkward and abrupt transition from *permisit* to *firmabant*. For *firmare* as a synonym of *affirmare* or *confirmare* see the note ad 20.8.15 *Hoc sane*.

8.3 *postremo ob multa et metuenda, quae super eadem insula rumores assidui perferebant, electus Theodosius illuc properare disponitur* Amm. is building up to a climax: Severus is quickly succeeded by Iovinus, but even that excellent general (*rector eximius*, 27.2.2) is not equal to this daunting task (*multa et metuenda*), so that finally (*postremo*) an appeal is made (*electus*) to Theodosius. The impressive phrase *multa et metuenda* seems to be all Amm.'s own. He uses it again in 31.5.8 *inter metuenda multa*. For the anaphoric use of *idem* see the note ad 15.5.19 *Ursicinum* and Szantyr 188. The rare personal passive *disponitur* is found also in 29.5.42 *qui Caesaream mitti dispositus* and 31.12.15 *Equitius...ire pignoris loco mature disponitur*; TLL V 1.1429.11–17.

This is the first time that Theodosius (*PLRE* I, Theodosius 3), father of the emperor Theodosius I (379–395), is mentioned by Amm. Since Theodosius I came from Galicia, it is likely that the elder Theodosius was also a native of Spain; Zos. 4.24.4. It is not easy to reconstruct Theodosius' personal record, for which Amm. is the main source. His early career, i.e. before he became one of Valentinian's chief generals, is not known. Other information about his career is provided by Pacatus in his panegyric for Theodosius I from 389, who presents a summary of the various military campaigns of the emperor's father: *Quae Rhenus aut Vachalis vidit adgrediar? Iam se mihi Sarmatica caede sanguineus Hister obiciet. Attritam pedestribus proeliis Britanniam referam? Saxo consumptus bellis navalibus offeretur. Redactum ad paludes suas Scotum loquar? Compulsus in solitudines avias omnis Alamannus et uterque Maurus occurrent* (*Pan.* 2.5.2); "Shall I begin with the events that the Rhine and Waal witnessed? Immediately the Danube, bloody with the slaughter of Sarmatians, confronts me. Shall I recall Britannia, trampled by infantry battles? Then the vision of the Saxon, annihilated in naval warfare, presents

itself. Or shall I speak of the Scot, driven back into his swamps? Then spring to mind all the Alamanni, and the people of both Mauretania, forced to retreat into their pathless wilderness” (tr. Nixon, slightly adapted). This text is not beyond suspicion; e.g. the word *Britanniam* is a later correction; all manuscripts have *Bataviam*; see for a discussion of the passage Nixon & Rodgers, 1994, 517–519. On the basis of Pacatus’ information and what is known in particular from Amm. the authors have attempted to reconstruct the chronology of the military campaigns in which the elder Theodosius was involved. His career started before his expedition to Britain, as may be concluded from Amm.’s words *officiis Martii felicissime cognitus*. His first expedition was probably the one against the Franks on the Lower Rhine and Waal in 366; see also Demandt, 1972, 82–84; cf. *PLRE* (p. 903). In 367 he had probably fought the Saxons at sea, and in Batavia; in 368–369 he was involved in suppressing the rebellion in Britain (27.8, 28.3); in the years 370–372 he participated in campaigns against the Alamanni (28.5.15) and in 372 or 373 he fought against the Sarmatians. Finally, in 373–375, he was in Africa to put down the revolt of Firmus (29.5). See for further details of these campaigns, Demandt, 1972 and for the Firmus revolt Drijvers, 2007. For Theodosius in general: Egger, 1929–1930; Ennslin, 1934.

Although Tomlin, 1974 is right in suggesting that Valentinian was informed about the *conspiratio barbarica* and sent Severus and Iovinus to Britain before Gratian’s elevation (see above ad § 1), the chronology of Theodosius’ campaign to suppress the uprising put forward by the British scholar is not very plausible. In Tomlin’s view Amm.’s report suggests a sequence of events which took place in a quick and even hurried way – Severus was soon recalled (*paulo postea revocato*, § 2), Iovinus allowed his officers to return hastily (*celeri gradu*, § 2), and Theodosius was sent with all speed to Britain (*Theodosius illuc properare disponitur*, § 3). He therefore argues that Theodosius arrived in Britain still in 367 and used the autumn of that year for his first campaign during which amongst other things London was set free; the second campaign took the whole of 368. Tomlin’s chronology implies that Theodosius suppressed the *conspiratio barbarica* in not much more than a year. However, the way in which Tomlin condenses the duration of Theodosius’ campaigns is not convincing, as Blockley, 1980 has argued. First of all, Amm. uses words suggesting haste rather loosely; see Introduction 25.10. Secondly, it is hard to explain why Amm. would place Theodosius’ second campaign (28.3), which according to Tomlin took place in 368, after his description of events which occurred in 369 (28.2) and

even later (28.1.6 ff.). More importantly, Amm.'s description of the many events which took place during Theodosius' campaigns supports the traditional chronology. Theodosius would have left for Britain in the winter of 367/368 or the spring of 368; in two campaigns, the one in 368 and described by Amm. in this chapter, and the other in 369, of which Amm. gives an account in 28.3, he was able to restore order again in Britain in 369; Blockley, 1980, 224–225.

It is unclear in which function Theodosius was sent to Britain. Amm. calls him *dux* (e.g. 27.8.6, 28.3.1), but in the *Res Gestae* this is a common term for anybody who held a leading military position and does not imply a particular rank; cf. the note ad 21.7.1 *cum ducibus*. Demandt, 1972, 86–89, who discusses Theodosius' rank elaborately, suggests that he was *comes rei militaris*, because of the troops, in particular the *auxilia palatina* (§ 7), he had under his command. According to Tomlin, 1974, 303 n. 6 he was *comes domesticorum* and may have been Severus' successor in that position. Austin, 1979, 43 n. 7 considers it possible that he had the rank of *comes Saxonici litoris*.

After his campaign in Britain Theodosius succeeded Iovinus as *magister equitum* in 369 (*in locum Iovini ut lenti successit, qui equorum copias tuebatur*; 28.3.9), a position which he held for the rest of his life. After his successes against Firmus, he apparently fell in disgrace and was executed in 375 or early in 376; Hier. *Chron.* a. 376; Oros. *hist.* 7.33.7; Jord. *Rom.* 312; see further Demandt, 1969. He was rehabilitated posthumously and received equestrian statues from the province of Apulia and Calabria (*CIL* 9.333) and the Senate of Rome (*Symm. Rel.* 9.4.43).

officiis Martiis felicissime cognitus Amm. is full of praise for Theodosius, and he is clearly one of the heroic figures in the later books of the *Res Gestae*. He is called *dux efficacissimus* (27.8.6), *dux nominis incluti* (28.3.1), *praeclarus dux* (28.3.2), *dux alacrior ad audendum* (28.3.6), *dux exercituum ille magnificus* (28.6.26), *spectatissimus dux* (29.5.8), *dux consulti-ssimus* (29.5.35), *pugnator cautus et prudens* and *intrepidus* (29.5.39), *dux nobilis* (29.5.43), *amplissimus dux* (29.5.45), and *dux suoapte ingenio pertinax* (29.5.52). Amm. compares Theodosius to the great generals Domitius Corbulo and Lusius Quietus (29.5.4) from the imperial period, and to the Republican heroes Furius Camillus and Cursor Papirius, Curio, Fabius Cunctator and Pompey the Great (28.3.9, 29.5.22, 32, 33); see Thompson 89.

The phrase *officiis Martiis felicissime cognitus* has a distinctly panegyric ring, but is unique in this form. It is comparable to 26.9.5, where

the old general Arbitio makes an appeal to the soldiers of Procopius to follow him, *orabat, ut se ac si parentem magis sequerentur felicissimis ductibus cognitum*. On this characteristic of great military leaders see the note ad 21.5.9 *fortunatum domitorem gentium appellans et regum*. For Mars metonymically denoting warfare see the notes ad 23.5.20 *devicta est* and 24.4.24 *extimabatur*.

In panegyrical poems of Claudian, quoted by Birley, 1981, 335–336, Theodosius the Elder is praised for his victories in the far north of Britain and the deep south of Africa, e.g. *III Cons. Hon.* 51–56

*quoque magis nimium pugnae inflammaret amorem,
facta tui numerabat avi, quem litus adustae
horrescit Libyae ratibusque inpervia Thyle:
ille leves Mauros nec falso nomine Pictos
edomuit Scottumque vago mucrone secutus
fregit Hyperboreas remis audacibus undas.*

Cf. in a similar vein *IV Cons. Hon.* 24–33 and *carm. min.* 30.37–46.

ascitaeque animosa legionum et cohortium pube ire tendebat praeunte fiducia speciosa Amm. continues in panegyrical mode with the poeticism *pubes* ‘men’; cf. 28.5.9 *Burgundios... bellicosos et pubis immensae viribus affluentes*. For the adjective *animosus*, ‘spirited’, ‘confident’, cf. 16.12.28 and 24.4.11. As a result of Theodosius’ earlier successes and the warlike spirit of his men a ‘brilliant confidence’ leads the army on its way to victory. A similar metaphor is found in 31.7.6 *Praevia igitur spe meliorum Romani duces, si fors copiam attulisset, ausuri aliquid gloriosum* etc. Sentences like 15.8.21 *plebs universa cum vicinitate finitima imperatorem clementem appellans et faustum praevia consonis laudibus celebrabat* may have provided the basis for the metaphor. See for *legio* the last part of the note ad 25.1.7 *eodem die*, for *cohors* ad 21.11.2 *addita*.

Among the troops were the *auxilia palatina* of the Batavi, Heruli, Iovii and Victores which Amm. mentions in section 7 of this chapter. Also the legion *II Augusta*, which was stationed in Rutupiae during the time when the *Notitia Dignitatum* was written (*Occ.* 28.19), may have been placed under the command of Theodosius; Demandt, 1972, 87. James, 1984, 172, who considers the *conspiratio barbarica* a relatively small-scale event, estimates that 4000 men at most were sent to Britain as extra troops; with the help of the *limitanei* stationed in Britain these 4000 *comitatenses* were able to quell the uprising. Austin’s estimate (1979, 108–109) is even lower; he thinks that no more than 2000–3000

men were sent to Britain and that their main purpose was to raise local morale. It seems that these troops did not fight full-scale battles but that they were split up in order to track down and defeat groups of barbarian invaders which were roaming the country; see the note ad § 7 below.

Based on information provided by the *Notitia Dignitatum* (*Occ.* 7.153–156, 199–205, 28.13–21, 40.18–56) which dates from the beginning of the fifth century, Jones 683 estimates that the number of *limitanei* (under the command of the *dux Britanniarum* and the *comes litoris Saxonici*) stationed in Britain in the fourth century was 28.000. Britain does not seem to have had a field army, at least not at the time of the uprising of 367, because Theodosius had to despatch *comitatenses* from Gaul to Britain. Apparently the field army in Gaul operated as a strategic reserve in case of emergencies in Britain (see also 20.1.3). It seems that only at the end of the fourth century *comitatenses* were regularly stationed in Britain; they were brought in by Stilicho and put under the command of the *comes Britanniarum* (*Not. Dign. Occ.* 7.153–156, 199–205); Southern, 2004, 401; cf. Martin, 1969, 414 ff. The number of 28.000 has been challenged by James, 1984, 164–171, who gives a lower estimate of the size of the various garrisons than Jones does; archaeological evidence, e.g. the size of forts, indicates that the number of garrisoned troops must have been considerably smaller than 28.000. His estimate is that the total number of troops garrisoned in Britain fluctuated between 10.000 and 20.000 in the fourth century; see also Jones, 1996, 166, 214. Apart from regular troops barbarian *laeti* were part of the Roman military force in Britain; Amm. reports about a strong force of Alamanni under Fraomarius sent to Britain by Valentinian in 372 (*in Britannias translatum... Alamannorum praefecerat numero multitudine viribusque ea tempestate florenti*; 29.4.7); James, 1984, 171–172. For a survey of the army in late Roman Britain, see Southern, 2004.

8.4–5 Sections 4 and 5 interrupt the narrative about the *conspiratio barbarica* in order to refer to an earlier digression on Britain and to give some background information on the tribes that took part in it. Amm. goes on to mention raids by Saxons and Franks, on which he does not elaborate in the immediate sequel.

8.4 *Et quoniam, cum Constantis principis actus componerem, motus adolescentis et senescentis oceani situmque Britanniae pro captu virium explanavi* This is registered as one of the indisputable cross-references to the lost books of

Amm. in Frakes, 1995, 245, where the existing studies on this subject are listed on p. 232–233. Constans I (*PLRE* I, Constans 3), Augustus in the years 337–350, is mentioned seven more times by Amm.: 15.5.16, 16.7.5, 20.1.1 (q.v.), 20.11.3, 21.6.2, 28.3.8, 30.7.5. He crossed to Britain in midwinter (January 343), which took a great deal of courage. Firmicus Maternus, addressing both Constantius and Constans, wrote (*err.* 28.6): *hieme – quod nec factum est aliquando nec fiet – tumentes ac saevientes undas calcastis Oceani*. The verbs *adolescere* and *senescere* are very surprising in a description of the tides. They have been suggested by Gel. 14.1.3, as Hertz, 1874, 293 saw, *oceanus quasi lunae comes cum ea simul senescit adolescitque*, since *senescere* and *adolescere* normally refer to the waning and waxing of the moon. For *situs* cf. the note ad 27.4.1 *ergo conveniet*.

The phrase *pro captu virium*, ‘to the best of my ability’, is an expression of modesty, for which cf. the programmatic statement in 15.1.1 *residua...pro virium captu limatius absolvemus*.

ad ea, quae digesta sunt semel, revolvi superfluum duxi For *revolvi* ‘to return’ cf. 28.6.2 *ad genuinos turbines* (“their natural state of lawlessness”, tr. Hamilton) *revoluti sunt*. In the specific sense of ‘to return to a topic’ cf. Tac. *Ann.* 4.9.1 *ad vana et totiens inrisa revolutus*. Amm. may have had Vergil in mind: *A.* 2.101 *set quid ego haec autem nequiquam ingrata revolvo?* Similar ‘meta-narrative’ remarks are found in 23.6.62 *quas (gentes) nunc recensere alio properans superfluum puto* and 27.2.11 *quae (proelia) superfluum est explicare*. Note that in the present text Amm. uses the perfect tense, taking as his point of orientation the moment when his text will be read. Cf. Tac. *Ann.* 4.11.3 *mihi tradendi arguendique rumoris causa fuit, ut etc.*

ut Ulixes Homericus apud Phaeacas ob difficultatem nimiam replicare formidat Amm. refers to *Od.* 12.452–453 ἐχθρόν δέ μοι ἐστίν / αὖτις ἀριζήλως εἰρημένα μυθολογέειν (“I hate saying the same thing over and over again”, tr. Butler), but the quotation is rather imprecise. Odysseus is not afraid to repeat what he had already told earlier, he just finds it unpleasant. Nor is there any question of difficulty in Homer’s text. The scene of Odysseus and the Phaeacians obviously stuck with Amm., for he alludes to the next lines (*Od.* 13.1–2) in 18.5.7 (*auditorum secundum Homericos Phaeacas cum silentio admirantium: οἱ δ’ ἄρα πάντες ἀκὴν ἐγένοντο σιωπῇ, / κληθημῶ δ’ ἔσχοντο κατὰ μέγαρα σκιόεντα* (“they all held their peace throughout the covered cloister, enthralled by the charm of his story”, tr. Butler). Homer is mentioned in the *Res Gestae* more often than any other Greek author, sixteen times in all,

mostly to embellish the digressions. There are only three literal quotations (15.8.17, 23.6.62 (q.v.), 31.14.8). Fornara, 1992, 421 n. 11, who is justifiably skeptical about Amm.'s knowledge of Greek literature, writes: "his recollection of Homer seems genuine enough." Add to the references given by Fornara 19.4.6, 21.14.5, 22.14.3, 22.15.3, 22.16.10, 23.6.21, 53, 27.4.3, 27.8.4, 28.1.54 and 31.14.8.

- 8.5** *illud tamen sufficiet dici, quod eo tempore Picti in duas gentes divisi, Dicalydonas et Verturiones, iidemque Attacotti, bellicosa hominum natio, et Scotti per diversa vagantes multa populabantur* For *sufficiet* followed by an infinitive see the note ad 22.10.5. Amm. may be unwilling to repeat himself, he feels obliged nevertheless (*tamen*) to add some supplementary information to specify the *barbarica conspiratio* of § 1. It seems most natural to interpret *eo tempore* as contrasting with the period in which Constans had visited Britain. This is the third time within a short spell that Amm. mentions that the Scots and Picts caused the Romans trouble. The first time was in 20.1.1 (q.v.): *consulatu vero Constantii deciens terque Iuliani in Britannii cum Scottorum Pictorumque gentium ferarum excursus rupta quiete conducta loca limitibus vicina vastarent*. The second time was in 26.4.5 (with note ad loc. and the elaborate introduction to 26.4.5–6): *Picti Saxonesque et Scotti et Attacotti Britannos aerumnis vexavere continuis*. The third time, already announced in 26.4.5, is in this chapter. From Amm.'s report, lacking in detail though it is, we may conclude that the three 'barbarian' nations overran all of Britain.

Hagendahl, 1924, 199 proposed to interpret *hominum* as a gen. identitatis, 'a warlike nation', which is entirely plausible. It is difficult to see in which way the reading proposed by Bartholomew, 1984, 175 *Attacotti, bellicosa hominum natio et saeva*, which lacks a proper *cursus*, is "rhythmically preferable" to the text transmitted by all mss.

The Picts were a Celtic people living in what is now northern Scotland. They were of indigenous origin and were probably an amalgamation of smaller nations which formed a socio-political unit. Their name is a descriptive name ('painted men') rather than an ethnonym and seems to refer to all peoples north of Hadrian's Wall; Laing & Laing, 1994, 7–11; Aitchison, 2003, 2–3; Halsall, 2007, 114–118. They appear for the first time in the sources in the panegyric of Constantius (*Pan.* 8.11.4) which dates from 297: *Ad hoc natio etiam tum rudis et solis [Britanni] Pictis modo et Hibernis adsueta hostibus adhuc seminudis, facile Romanis armis signisque cesserunt*. Amm.'s *Dicalydonas* are similar and probably identical to the *Caledonii/Caledones* who are mentioned in earlier sources

(e.g. Tac. *Ag.* 11.2; Ptol. 2.3.8 Καληδόνιοι; D.C. 76.5.4); *Pan.* 6.7.2 *non dico Calidonium aliorumque Pictorum silvas et paludes.*

Amm. is the first to mention the Attacotti and the Scotti. Later they are referred to by Jerome, who was of the opinion that in these nations, just as among the warriors in Plato's Republic, women and children were common property *ne honesta iungant matrimonia, sed Scottorum et Aticottorum ritu, ac de Re publica Platonis promiscuas uxores, communes liberos habeant* (*epist.* 69.3); elsewhere he accuses the Attacotti of cannibalism: *Quid loquar de caeteris nationibus, cum ipse adolescentulus in Gallia viderim Atticotos, gentem Britannicam, humanis vesci carnibus?* (*adv. Iov.* 2.7 = PL 23, 308–309). The Attacotti appear to have been a passing menace for the Romans; later in the century we see them as Roman military army units: *Not. Dign. Occ.* 9.29 (*Atecotti*), 5.197, 200 (*Honoriani Atecotti seniores*), 7.24, 74 (*Honoriani Atecotti iuniores*) and 5.218, 7.78, 200 (*Atecotti iuniores Gallicani*). The Attacotti were probably of Irish descent – Attacotti appears to be a Latin adaptation of Irish *aithechthúatha*, a generic term for the tribes of lower status in Ireland – and settled in south Wales; Rance, 2001. Like the Attacotti, the Scots were of Irish origin. Amm. is the first source to mention them. They came to Britain first as raiders and then as settlers. They settled in western Scotland in a region known as Dalriada; Laing & Laing, 1994, 30–39; Aitchison, 2003, 4–6; Halsall, 2007, 112–114.

It is usually assumed that the barbarians invaded from the north. However, because the invasion has left no archeological traces of destruction of the defence works at Hadrian's Wall, it has been suggested by Aitchison, 2003, 117 that the Picts and Scots bypassed the Roman forts in the north by sailing down the west and east coasts of Britain, and that they attacked from the sea; they located estuaries and sailed up rivers that carried them inland in order to pillage areas, including towns and villages, close to these rivers.

Gallicanos vero tractusque Franci et Saxones, isdem confines, quo quisque erumpere potuit, terra vel mari praedis acerbis incendiisque et captivorum funeribus omnium violabant The transition from Britain proper to the coastal regions facing it is marked by *vero*, as is usual with a change of topic, cf. 14. 6.24–25 *haec nobilium sunt instituta. Ex turba vero imae sortis* etc., 15.8.1 *Et haec quidem Romae, ut ostendit textus superior, agebantur. Constantium vero exagitant assidui nuntii*, 27.9.1 *Haec in Britannii agebantur. Africam vero* etc. One wonders how Seyfarth interpreted the text he chose to print in his Teubner edition. The easiest solution is to read *Gallicanos vero tractus*

Franci et Saxones... violabant with Gelenius (who for some obscure reason omitted *vero*), followed by Rolfe, Seyfarth in his bilingual edition and Marié. Amm. uses *erumpere* and its derivatives regularly for incursions into Roman territory, cf. 29.1.1 *Sapor... erupturos in nostra catafractos et sagittarios et conductam misit plebem*. For the last part of the sentence cf. 15.5.2 *cum diuturna incuria Galliae caedes acerbis rapinasque et incendia barbaris licenter grassantibus nullo iuvante perferrent* and note that *praeda* in the present text denotes, like *rapina*, the “act of plundering” (OLD s.v. 1 c), as in Sal. *Jug.* 55.5 *igni magis quam praeda ager vastabatur*.

The Germanic people of the Franks are often mentioned in connection with the Saxons (Zos. 3.1.1); the two peoples were neighbours (Zos. 3.6.2) and were considered the most warlike of the peoples living beyond the Rhine; Jul. *Or.* 1.34 d Φράγγοι καὶ Σάξονες, τῶν ὑπὲρ τὸν Ῥήνον καὶ τὴν ἐσπερίαν θάλατταν ἔθνῶν τὰ μαχιμώτατα. During these years the Franks and Saxons posed a threat to Roman authority in the north-western part of the empire. They not only raided the Gallic coast opposite Britain, as Amm. mentions here, but their raids were also a threat to the British coast. The south-western part of this coast had already been strengthened by forts since the third century, suggesting an ongoing problem with seaborne intruders; see Southern, 2004, 395–397. Also a military official, the *comes litoris Saxonici per Britanniam*, had been installed possibly sometime in the fourth century, but certainly before the *Not. Dign.* was compiled (*Not. Dign. Occ.* 28, which also mentions the coastal forts), in order to supervise the defence of the British coast. If the chronology of Theodosius’ campaigns, proposed in the note ad § 3 above, is correct, according to which he had fought the Franks in 366 and the Saxons in 367, these peoples continued to be a problem and Theodosius had not been able to put an end to their raids and piracy. Bartholomew, 1984, 175–176 has the unlikely suggestion that Amm.’s information in this section has no connection with the affairs in Britain in 367–368 but alludes to the events taking place in 370 and described by Amm. in 28.5.1–7: *Erupit Augustis ter consulibus Saxonum multitudo et oceani difficultatibus permeatis Romanum limitem gradu petebat intento saepe nostrorum funeribus pasta* (28.5.1).

The Franks consisted of various tribes, some of which are mentioned by Amm.: *Francos, eos videlicet quos consuetudo Salios appellavit* (17.8.3, q.v.; see also the note ad 15.5.11); *Francorum, quos Atthuarios vocant* (20.10.2, q.v.). They lived just north and east of the lower Rhine in what are now the Netherlands and the north-western parts of modern Germany. The Franks had caused the Romans trouble with their raids on Roman

territory since the second half of the third century; attacks were not by land alone, but Frankish ships also raided the coasts of Gaul and Britain and even seem to have gone as far as Spain and Africa; Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 33.3 (*adeo uti... Francorum gentes direpta Gallia Hispaniam possiderent vastato ac paene direpto Tarraconensium oppido, nactisque in tempore navigiis pars in usque Africam permearet*); James, 1988, 35–38; some of these raids are referred to by Amm. (16.3.2, 17.2.1, 17.2.4, 20.10.2). Franks were also settled in Gaul by fourth-century emperors, were involved as units in the Roman army, and even occupied high positions within the Roman administrative and military apparatus; James, 1988, 39–44.

Ad haec prohibenda, si copiam dedisset fortuna prosperior, orbis extrema dux efficacissimus petens At first glance one would expect *haec* to refer directly to the raids by the Picts, the Attacotti and the Scotti in Britain and of the Franks and the Saxons in the coastal regions along the Channel, mentioned in the previous section, and indirectly to *multa et metuenda* in § 3. However, in the sequel of this chapter Amm. does not pay attention to the Franks and the Saxons, and so the remark about these two nations looks like a parenthesis by the author, who may have felt obliged to mention the Saxons, because he had done so in 26.5.4 *Picti Saxonesque et Scotti et Attacotti Britannos aerumnis vexavere continuis*. For hypothetical sentences of the type *si copiam fors dedisset* see the note ad 27.8.2 *quibus*. In Roman perception Britain was situated at the end of the known world; Catul. 11.11–12 *ulti-/ mosque Britannos*. This perception was reinforced by the fact that the British Isles were separated by sea from Roman Europe; see e.g. Romm, 1992, 140–149. For *efficax* “de personis” see TLL V 2.159.78–160.32. It is practically equivalent to *felix*. In 14.8.5 Amm. explains the surname Nicator as follows: *efficaciae impetrabilis rex, ut indicat cognomentum*. Julian is called *efficacissimus Caesar* in 16.4.4. 8.6

cum venisset ad Bononiae litus, quod a spatio controverso terrarum angustius reciprocis distinguitur maris Bononia, also called Gesoriacum, is modern Boulogne-sur-Mer. It was the base of the *classis Britannica* and the port from which to cross the narrow sea strait to Britain, see Szidat, 1977, 102–103 and Talbert 8 I4. It also mentioned in 20.1.3 (q.v.) and 20.9.9. For the gen. inversus *spatio terrarum* as the equivalent of *spatiosis terris* see the note ad 22.4.5 *ambitiosa ornatarum domorum... spatia*. The pregnant meaning of *spatium* ‘wide expanse’, contrasting with *angustius*, is also found in Mela 1.20 about Africa tapering down from North to South:

ex spatio paulatim adductior ubi finitur ibi maxime angusta est. For *controversus* as a synonym of *oppositus* cf. 22.8.2 *longo spatio controversi* (q.v.). The Channel is called *reciprocus* because of its strong tidal movement.

attolli horrendis aestibus assueti rursusque sine ulla navigantium noxa in speciem complanari camporum The Channel is notoriously stormy. TLL III 2080.34–35 aptly compares August. *gen. ad litt.* 1.12 *cum aquae fluctuantis quidam velut montes eriguntur, sedatis rursus tempestatibus complanantur*. One gets the impression that Amm. knew and imitated Libanius' sensational description of Constans crossing the Channel (*Or.* 59.139): ἐμβιβάσας ἑκατὸν ἄνδρας, ὥς λέγεται, λύσας τὰ ἀπόγεια τὸν Ὠκεανὸν ἔτεμνε, καὶ πάντα εὐθὺς πρὸς εἰρήνην μετεβάλλετο. Ὠκεανὸς δὲ τὸ κῶμα στορέσας λεῖον ἑαντὸν παρεῖχε τῷ βασιλεῖ περαισιῦσθαι ('having embarked a hundred men, we are told, he unmoored the cables and cleft the Ocean and all of a sudden everything changed and was peaceful. The Ocean calmed its waves and made itself smooth for the emperor to cross.').

exinde transmeato lentius freto defertur Rutupias, stationem ex adverso tranquillam The fact that Theodosius enjoyed a calm crossing of the strait between Bononia and Rutupiae is for Tomlin, 1974, 306 one of the reasons to suppose that he went to Britain before the autumnal equinox, i.e. before 23 September (367). However, as Blockley, 1980, 224 argues, it is quite possible that Theodosius crossed later, making use of a calm spell in the winter of 367/368, just as Lupicinus had done (*adulta hieme* 20.1.3). Considering the preparations a major expedition demands, it is even possible that Theodosius went to Britain in the spring of 368. Rutupiae is modern Richborough; see the note ad 20.1.3 *ad Rutupias* and Talbert 8 I3 and 11 B2.

- 8.7** *unde cum consecuti Batavi venissent et Heruli Ioviique et Victores, fidentes viribus numeri* These troops belonged to the *auxilia palatina*. The *Batavi* and *Heruli* had also participated in Lupicinus' campaign in Britain: *moto igitur velitari auxilio, Herulis scilicet et Batavis* (20.1.3, q.v.); see for them the note ad 27.1.6. For the *Iovii* and *Victores* see the note ad 25.6.3 *legiones*. Obviously, Valentinian had taken Iovinus' request for strong reinforcements very seriously. Amm. had already mentioned the confidence of Theodosius' troops in section 3. For *numeri*, which in the fourth century is used as a generic term for army units, see the note ad 20.1.3

numerisque; add to the literature mentioned there Nicasie, 1998, 44 and 57; Schmitt, 2001.

egressus tendensque ad Lundinium, vetus oppidum, quod Augustam posteritas appellavit From Rutupiae Theodosius marched to London, probably with the troops who had followed him from Gaul. At the time London was the capital of Maxima Caesariensis and the centre for military operations; see the note ad 20.1.3. Since the end of the second century it was a walled city; in the mid-fourth century bastions were added to the walls. See further Perring, 1991. When precisely the city received the honorific title *Augusta* is not known.

divisis plurifariam globis adortus est vagantes hostium vastatorias manus graves onere sarcinarum For *globus*, ‘a tightly packed group’, which may refer to foot soldiers and cavalry alike, see the notes ad 16.12.49 *globus* and 20.5.1 *armatarum*. It was obviously Theodosius’ strategy to locate and defeat the barbarians, who roamed and looted the countryside in groups, using small contingents of Roman soldiers.

et prope fusis, qui vinctos homines agebant et pecora, praedam excussit, quam tributarii perdidere miserrimi Since the relative clause *qui...pecora* explains why the bands of robbers were so easily routed, one would have expected a subjunctive. Ehrismann 71 mentions a similar case in 29.2.18 *O praecleara informatio doctrinarum..., quae vel vitiosas naturas saepe excoluisti*, based on Cic. *Q. fr.* 1.1.7 *ea...adhibita doctrina est, quae vel vitiosissimam naturam excolere possit*. For *excudere* ‘to shake down’ cf. 30.4.21 (advocates) *opes cuiusque modi fortunae rimantes alienis gremiis* (‘from other people’s pockets’) *excutiunt praedas*. Amm. uses the term *tributarius* six times as the equivalent of *stipendarius*; see the note ad 20.4.1 *quos tributarios*. Since the action of *perdidere* precedes that of *excussit*, a pluperfect would have been appropriate. Amm. in all probability chose the perfect to obtain a *cursus tardus*.

isdemque restituta omni praeter partem exiguum impensam militibus fessis One gets the impression that Amm. thought it slightly irregular that the booty was not returned in its entirety to the rightful owners and therefore points out that only a small portion (*exiguum*) was given to the soldiers for their great effort (*fessis*). Sabbah 173 even suggests that Amm. made use of a report in which Theodosius covered himself against a possible

accusation of embezzlement: “L’orientation de l’argumentation pré-justificative permet de croire que Théodose s’attendait à être accusé de malversations”.

mersam difficultatibus summis antehac civitatem, sed subito, quam salus sperari potuit, recreatam ovantis specie laetissimus introiit From these words it is evident that London had severely suffered from the invading Picts, Scots and Attacotti. The *summae difficultates* recall the *ultima inopia* mentioned in section 1 as the consequence of the barbarian raids. The metaphor *mersam* denotes a desperate situation, cf. 26.9.9 about Procopius facing certain death: *cum Fortuna expostulabat luctuosa et gravi mersusque multiformibus curis* etc. *Antehac* refers to the time before Theodosius had come to the rescue. The expression *subito, quam*, ‘suddenly, before’ is unique, but easily understandable, since ‘suddenly’ implies ‘earlier than expected’. Elsewhere Amm. writes 17.1.12 *supra, quam optari potuit*; 18.7.2 *celerius, quam potuit sperari*. Comparative words are often left out before *quam*: 20.4.8 *gloriosum esse existimans iussa morte oppetere quam ei provinciarum interitum assignari*, 20.7.18 *multis acceptis vulneribus quam illatis* (but 31.16.7 *post accepta maiora funera quam illata*), 23.4.15 *nec remedio ullo quam superiacto pulvere consopitur*, 25.7.4 *miles ferro properans quam fame ignavissimo genere mortis absumi*, 26.4.1 *quasi tota* (or preferably *tuta*) *consilia quam sibi placentia secuturus* (q.v.), 30.2.4 *imperator eligere consilia quam invenire sufficiens*; 31.6.3 *concito quam considerato civium assultu*.

Amm. had used the verb *recreare* also to describe the effect of Julian’s military successes in Gaul, 17.4.1 *Inter haec recreandarum exordia Galliarum*. He ends his summing up of Theodosius’ highly successful activities in Britain in 28.3.7 with the words *recuperatamque provinciam, quae in dicionem concesserat hostium, ita reddiderat statui pristino, ut...et rectorem haberet legitimum et Valentia deinde vocaretur arbitrio principis velut ovantis*. Amm. goes one step further in 29.5.56. When the revolt of Firmus had ended with the death of the rebel, Theodosius entered Sitifis in triumph: *Sitifim triumphanti similis redit aetatum ordinumque omnium celebrabili favore susceptus*. The verbs *ovare* and *triumphare* had to be qualified in both cases (*specie, velut, triumphanti similis*), because real *ovationes* and *triumphi* could only take place in the city of Rome and were usually celebrated by the emperor. In 71 A.D. Titus was the last general who was allowed a triumph for his victory against the Jews and his capture of Jerusalem. Honorius was the last emperor who held a triumph in Rome in the year 403; Stein, 1939, 500; Beard, 2007, 326. Cf. Künzl, 1988, 106 who considers Theodosius’ visit not a triumph but an *adventus*.

Ubi ad audenda maiora prospero successu elatus totaque scrutando consilia futuri morabatur ambiguus However much Theodosius might have wished to continue his exploits in the first flush of victory (*prospero successu elatus*), he paused and took time for advice and reflection. In his Teubner edition Seyfarth returned to V's *totaque* after he had preferred *tutaque* in his bilingual edition, as he had done in 25.4.11 and 26.4.1. In both places strong arguments have been brought forward in favour of forms of *tutus*. Here again *tutaque* seems definitely better. The experienced general is not carried away by his success, but keeps an eye on the safety of his troops. Theodosius acted in the same cautious manner during the African campaign, cf. 29.5.32 *ut antiquus ille Cunctator pro negotio consultabat commentis potius et prudentia quam periculosis congressibus hostem... oppressurus*. It seems therefore mistaken to interpret this as a veiled criticism of Theodosius as does Seager, 1997 "Underneath the superficial encomiastic gloss it is possible to see Theodosius as a man who dithers until someone else tells him what to do" (the last words refer to the information Theodosius obtained from the captives and defectors mentioned below!).

His triumphant arrival in London obviously did not mean his mission had ended. The extent of the task awaiting him becomes clear only in 28.3, where we learn that in a subsequent campaign he restored order in the whole province up to and including Hadrian's Wall, if that is indeed what is meant by 28.3.7 *castra limitesque vigiliis tuebatur et praetenturis*. Amm. uses *ambiguus* in the active sense of 'wavering', 'undecided', also in 16.8.6 *cum nihil post tormenta multorum inveniretur iudicesque haerent ambigui* and 17.13.21 (Limigantes) *haesitabant ambiguis mentibus, utrum oppeterent an rogarent* ("whether to seek death or to beg for terms", tr. Hamilton).

diffusam variarum gentium plebem et ferocientem immaniter non nisi per dolos occultiores et improvisos excursus superari posse captivorum confessionibus et transfugarum indicibus doctus The fact that the Picts, Attacotti and Scots operated in small bands precludes a massive attack (see section 5). Another reason that made Theodosius pause was their bloodthirstiness. The phrase *ferocientem immaniter* combines two terms that are used primarily, though not exclusively, for barbarians; Seager 4–7, 54–55, 64–65.

Amm. would have us believe that *doli* were the weapons of Rome's enemies, whereas the Romans themselves fought openly. Especially the Persians are depicted as sly and untrustworthy. At the outset of the Persian expedition Julian warns his men *nihil enim praeter dolos et insidias*

hostium vereor nimium callidorum (23.5.21). It is therefore a sample of his effrontery when Sapor loftily declares in his letter to Constantius, 17.5.6 *illud apud nos numquam in acceptum feretur, quod asseritis vos exsultantes, nullo discrimine virtutis ac doli prosperos omnes laudari debere bellorum eventus* ("Never will I accept the principle which your overweening pride leads you to enunciate, that all is fair in war that brings success, whether it be achieved by force or fraud", tr. Hamilton). When it comes to the practice of warfare, the distinction between virtue and vice was less clear-cut. When the interest of the state was at stake, the Romans acted on the principle *dolus an virtus, quis in hoste requirat?* (Verg. *A.* 2.390). The most notorious incident in the *Res Gestae* is the perfidious murder of thousands of Goths by the general Iulius, reported by Amm. in 31.16.8 with the terse comment *consilio prudenti*.

One wonders whether the 'secret ruses' are identical with the measures outlined in the next section. The fact, however, that these measures were taken against persons who had been under Roman jurisdiction (hence *impunitate promissa*) is a decisive argument against this interpretation. *Dolus* therefore must mean 'ambush', 'guerilla attack' as in Tac. *Ann.* 12.32.1 *si ex occulto carpere* ('harry') *agmen temptarent, punito dolo*. Note the difference between *confessio*, 'information obtained by interrogation' and *indicium* 'information offered voluntarily'.

- 8.10** *denique edictis propositis impunitateque promissa desertores ad procinctum vocabat et multos alios per diversa libero commeatu dispersos* This is an intriguing statement. The only other places in Amm. where mention is made of deserters from the Roman army are 26.7.14 *cum Divitensibus desertorumque plebe promiscua* (q.v.), 29.5.20 *quae ad rebellem defecerat* and 29.5.31 *exustis desertoribus paucis aliisque... contruncatis*. In the note ad 26.7.14 it is argued that the word *plebs* suggests that the deserters mentioned there belonged to the auxiliary troops. The present text offers no such clue. In all probability these men belonged to the garrison troops (*limitanei*) and possibly also to the *foederati* or *laeti* stationed in Britain. Why they deserted is not explained by Amm., but as Watson, 1969, 142 observes: "In times of crisis soldiers, especially recruits, tended to slip away from their posts and to disappear into the background of the civilian population"; see also Nicasie, 1998, 92. Soldiers and officers who deserted their post in wartime or refused to obey orders were as a rule dealt with harshly, see the notes ad 25.1.9. For *procinctus* see the note ad 20.1.3 *festinare*. Here it has the meaning 'army (unit)'.

Amm. does not tell us who the ‘many others’ (*multos alios*) were, but there is reason to think that he had veterans in mind. In Amm. *commeatus* is found twenty times, invariably referring to provisions for the army, except in the present text, where the meaning must be ‘furlough’. That is the heading (“*missio*”) under which it is mentioned in TLL III 1826. 44–45. The only parallel for *liber commeatus* quoted there is *Dig.* 50.1.22.6 *senatores, qui liberum commeatum, id est ubi velint morandi arbitrium, impetraverunt*. Thus presumably veterans are meant. After their service they were allotted land or money; *Cod. Theod.* 7.20.3, 8, 11. Anon. *de rebus bell.* 5.4 assumes that the land will be in the frontier provinces. Alternatively, Demandt, 2007², 324, suggests that Amm. refers to ordinary soldiers who had “überzogen ihren Urlaub”. For juridical measures regarding absence without leave see Phang, 2008, 147–150.

quo monitu rediere plerique incentivo perciti relevatusque anxius curis Civilem nomine recturum Britannias pro praefectis ad se poposcerat mitti The text is very corrupt here: V reads *perciturei et usque*. E’s *perciti* is a step in the right direction, because it establishes a link with *plerique rediere* and the causal abl. *incentivo*. The return of the deserters and the veterans (if indeed these are meant) is good news for Theodosius, and so Heraeus’ *relevatusque*, besides being paleographically attractive, fits the context much better than any of the other proposed emendations. The noun *incentivum* is found from Tertullian onwards and is used particularly often by Christian authors like Ambrose and Jerome. On Amm.’s use of the word see the note ad 20.6.1. It refers to the *impunitas* promised by Theodosius. On *percitus* see the note ad 21.3.1 *nuntio*. This results in the translation “In consequence of this demand and strongly moved by his offer, most returned, and Theodosius, relieved of his cares, asked that Civilis be sent to him” (Rolfe). If the interpretation of this difficult sentence is correct, the action of *poposcerat* cannot be anterior to *rediere*, therefore we must suppose that Amm. wrote the pluperfect in order to obtain a *cursus planus*.

Amm. is our only source for this *vicarius Britanniarum* (PLRE I, Civilis).

virum acrioris ingenii, sed iusti tenacem et recti A highly flattering characterisation. For *acrioris ingenii* cf. Cicero’s subtle observation about Demosthenes, *Or.* 90 *non tam dicax* (‘sharp’, ‘clever’) *fuit quam facetus* (“gently humorous”, OLD); *est autem illud acrioris ingenii, hoc maioris artis*. *Acre ingenium* means primarily ‘a sharp intelligence’, but sometimes it has the

connotation of rashness and ruthlessness, as in Sal. *Jug.* 7.4 *Iugurtha, ut erat inpigro atque acri ingenio* and Liv. 27.34.3 *temperandum acre ingenium eius moderato et prudenti viro adiuncto collega censebant*. This seems also to be the case here, which would explain the contrast with the following *iusti tenacem et recti*, a variation of course on Hor. *Carm.* 3.3.1 *iustum et tenacem propositi virum*. This seems to be the only indisputable quotation from Horace's Odes. It would be rash to conclude that Amm. was familiar with the works of the poet, who is not mentioned by name in the *Res Gestae*. For a possible connection of the names *Trebatius*, *Cascellius* and *Alfenus* in 30.4.12 to Horace's Satires and *Ars Poetica* see Kelly, 2008, 207–209.

Dulcitium, ducem scientia rei militaris insignem PLRE I, Dulcitius 4. According to the PLRE he was *dux Britanniarum*. If this is correct, this chapter would be a kind of ring composition beginning with the death of the *dux* Fullofaudes and ending with the appointment of his successor Dulcitius. Martin, 1969, 419 considers it possible to surmise from Amm.'s words *rei militaris* that Dulcitius was *comes rei militaris*, commanding *comitatenses*. However, as Demandt, 1972, 87 n. 3 pointed out, *rei militaris* depends on *scientia*, not on *ducem*. Theodosius later delivered the usurper Valentinus to Dulcitius to be put to death: *Valentinum quidem cum paucis arta ei societate iunctissimis letali poena plectendos Dulcitio dediderat duci* (28.3.6).

CHAPTER 9

Introduction

This rather kaleidoscopic chapter switches between the western and eastern part of the empire and discusses three different events: the troubles in Africa (§ 1–3), the raids carried out by bands of brigands in Isauria (§ 6–7), and the city prefecture of Praetextatus (§ 8–10). Right from the beginning of his reign Valentinian was confronted with the troubles in Africa, which are elaborately described by Ammianus in 28.6. The three sections in this chapter about the African problems and the corrupt practices of the *comes* Romanus and the *magister officiorum* Remigius give a foretaste of what will be dealt with extensively in the following book, but they serve in particular as an overture to the following paragraphs (§ 4–5). These paragraphs offer a provisional and limited assessment of Valentinian and his reign; a full assessment is presented in the necrology of the emperor in 30.7–9. Valentinian is criticised for the corruption during his reign and for his leniency towards the criminal behaviour of high-ranking officials, while punishing severely the petty crimes of common soldiers.

In sections 6–7 Ammianus describes yet another uprising as well as raids by the Isaurians after his reports of earlier Isaurian uprisings in 354 (14.2) and 359 (19.13). Musonius, the vicar of Asia, tried in vain to quell the uprising with light-armed *Diogmitae*. Only after the disastrous outcome of Musonius' expedition were regular troops sent, which eventually dealt with the situation to the effect that a truce was made with the Isaurians.

In the last three sections (§ 8–10) the city prefecture of Praetextatus is described as salutary for Rome and its inhabitants. Praetextatus was one of the foremost members of the senatorial elite of the second half of the fourth century and he is held in high esteem by Ammianus because of his integrity and honesty. In the eyes of Ammianus he was an exemplary administrator and in every respect the opposite of the corrupt and greedy Romanus and Remigius mentioned at the beginning of this chapter.

9.1 *Haec in Britannii agebantur. Africam vero iam inde ab exordio Valentiniani imperii exurebat barbarica rabies per procursus audentiores et crebris caedibus et rapinis intenta* The transition from one theatre to the next is marked by *vero*, as in 27.8.5 *Gallicos vero tractus* (q.v.). For *exurere* in the sense of “incendiis devastare, vexare” (TLL V 2.2124.65–70) cf. 30.1.22 *Pyrrhum Italiam tunc bellis saevissimis exurentem*. It is already found in classical authors, Sil. 1.678 *exuri bello Carthagini arva*. There can be little doubt that Löfstedt, 1907, 99 was right in proposing to read *crebros*, to be taken with *procursus* ‘by numerous daring incursions’, since the adjective seems weak and otiose in connection with *caedibus et rapinis intenta*, which is a stereotyped expression in Amm., cf. 15.5.2 (cum) *Galliae caedes acerbis rapinasque et incendia barbaris licenter grassantibus nullo iuvante perferrent*; 28.6.2 (Austoriani) *vivereque assueti rapinis et caedibus*; 29.5.27 *conscientia rapinarum et caedum*.

As Seager 57 notes, *rabies* is also ascribed to the Isauri, Alamanni, Saxons and Goths. With *barbarica rabies* Amm. refers to the raids carried out by the Austoriani in the province of Tripolis: *Austoriani his contermini partibus* [i.e. Tripolis] *barbari in discursus semper expediti veloces* (28.6.2). These raids had already started in 363 during the reign of Jovian, as Amm. relates in 28.6.4 (*exsiluere sedibus suis Ioviano etiam tum imperante*) and lasted until 367; they are also referred to in 26.4.5 (q.v.). For the troubles in Africa, the Austorian raids included, for which Amm. is the most important source, see e.g. Romanelli, 1959, 566–577; Demandt, 1968, 277–281; Modéran, 2003, 279–281.

quam rem militaris augebat socordia et aliena invadendi cupiditas maximeque Romani nomine comitis This is the only occurrence of *socordia* ‘inaction’, ‘sluggishness’ in Amm., who uses the adj. *socors* twice, 21.12.8 and 27.2.6 *magniloquentia socordi coalitus* (q.v.). It implies a total lack of discipline, Liv. 25.20.6 *milites praeda impletos in tantam licentiam socordiamque effusos, ut nulla disciplina militiae esset*; Fron. Str. 1.1 *P. Scipio ad Numantiam corruptum superiorum ducum socordia exercitum correxerat*. For *aliena invadere*, ‘to seize the possessions of others’, cf. 22.4.3 *nec largiendi nec rapiendi nec absumendi tenere aliquem modum aliena invadere semper assuefacti*. The only other author who uses the expression is Sen. Contr. 2.1.20 *aliena bona invadere...quam inhumanum est!*

Romanus (PLRE I, Romanus 3) was *comes Africae* in the years 364–c. 373. His mismanagement, corruption and deceit are described in 28.6.5–9, 17–21, 29.5.2, 6. Amm. is hostile to Romanus, who is one of his prime examples of the arrogant and criminal military officers

whom he refers to in § 4 of this chapter. Zos. 4.16.3 also speaks of the rapacity of Romanus: τὴν Ῥωμανοῦ πλεονεξίαν. Augustine mentions him as a persecutor of the Donatists; *c. litt. Petil.* 3.25.29. See also Warmington, 1956; Coşkun, 2004. As is argued in the note ad 22.11.2, the *comes* Romanus is probably the same person as the tribune Romanus mentioned there.

qui ventura providus transferendaeque in alios invidiae artifex saevitia morum multis erat exosus hac praecipue causa, quod superare hostes in vastandis provinciis festinabat Baehrens, 1925, 54 hesitatingly admits the possibility that Amm. wrote *providus* + acc. on the analogy of *memor* + acc., which is attested in Late Latin (though not in Amm.; see TLL VIII 659.57 sqq.). Blomgren 135 n. 1 reports Baehrens' opinion in terms that are far too positive ("accusativum *ventura*... Ammiano vindicavit"). TLL X 2.2331.58 prefers E's *venturi*, rightly it would seem, and quotes as parallels Liv. 23.36.2 *nec eum provida futuri fefellit opinio* and Tac. *Ann.* 6.46.3 (Tiberius) *providus futurorum*. Clark suggested to read *venturi* <*exitii*> *providus* to create a cursus velox. Apart from the fact that it is more natural that the colon should end with *artifex*, this is unattractive because in the sequel Romanus is depicted as being far from fatalistic. On the contrary, he is fiendishly clever and a cat with nine lives. Therefore Hamilton's "who could see what was in the wind" is just right. An example of this quality of Romanus is given in 28.6.17–20, where we are told how he outmanoeuvred Valentinian's envoy Palladius.

Amm. uses *artifex* in the neutral sense of 'craftsman'. It applies to doctors, 17.5.7 *medellarum...artifices*; artillery men 23.4.2, 24.4.12, 28, and hydraulic engineers 28.2.2 *artificibus peritis aquariae rei*. Just as often, however, the word has the negative connotation of 'scheming' and 'cunning', as in Verg. *A.* 2.124–125 of the prototypical schemer Ulysses *et mihi iam multi crudele caneant / artificis scelus et taciti ventura videant*(!). Cf. 14.5.8, where the infamous Paul 'the Chain' is described as *in complicandis negotiis artifex dirus*, "a master in the dreadful art of weaving intrigues" (tr. Hamilton). But, as Wölfflin, 1870, 559 saw, the direct source of the expression is without doubt Tac. *Hist.* 2.86.2 *serendae in alios invidiae artifex*, from the character sketch of Antonius Primus ("a master of calumny, feud, and faction", Syme, 1958, 169). It is listed as one of the "punning allusions" in Kelly, 2008, 204. Amm. substitutes *transferendae* for *serendae* in anticipation of 28.6.17–24, where he reports how Romanus managed to turn the tables on Ruricius, who had written a damning report on his mismanagement of the province. Besides

being brutal, Romanus is hated because of his greed. Amm. is mordant in his choice of words: the governor whose task it is to protect the provincials was eager (see for this meaning of *festinare* the note ad 22.1.1 *avesque suspiciens*) to outdo the barbarians in ruining them.

affinitate Remigii tunc magistri officiorum confisus, quo prava et contraria referente princeps, ut prae se ferebat ipse, cautissimus lacrimosa dispendia diutius ignoravit Afrorum In Amm. the adjective *pravius* is sometimes the opposite of *bonus*, c.q. *honestus*, as in 30.8.8 *sine honesti pravique differentia* and 30.9.4 *boni pravique suasor et dissuasor admodum prudens*. In some cases it refers to forbidden, magical practices, e.g. 21.1.7 *Et quoniam erudito et studioso cognitionum omnium principi malevoli praenoscendi futura pravas artes assignant* (q.v.), cf. 28.1.14, 19 and 29. In the present text it means ‘wrong’, ‘mistaken’, as in 28.2.7 *ne Romani...pravo deciperentur errore*, with which cf. 29.3.1 *consiliorum pravitas*. In view of 28.6.9 *cum neque relationi officiorum magistri faventis Romani flagitiis nec contraria referentibus crederetur* it seems likely that here too *contrarius* means that the reports of Remigius were diametrically opposed to reports from other sources, which were thus neutralized. The words *ut prae se ferebat ipse* have a sarcastic ring. The virtue of cautiousness and prudence on which Valentinian prided himself (cf. also 27.10.1 *Valentiniano ad expeditionem caute, ut rebatur ipse, profecto*, and see in general on Amm.’s use of the qualification *cautus* Seyfarth, 1965, 335) utterly failed him. Confronted with conflicting information he could not distinguish truth from falsehood and so did not gauge the full extent of the misery of the Africans. His circumspection led in this case to irresolution. This interpretation of *princeps, ut prae se ferebat ipse, cautissimus* is more in keeping with the sequel of 28.6.9, quoted above, *promissa disceptatio plena dilata est eo more, quo solent inter potiorum occupationes ludi potestates excelsae* (“He promised a full enquiry, which, however, was put off, as such things often are, when advantage is taken of their being occupied with more important business to hoodwink the holders of supreme power”, tr. Hamilton) than either Rolfe’s “in spite of the great caution” or “malgré la haute prudence” (Marié). There is a note on *dispendium* ad 20.6.9.

Remigius (*PLRE* I, Remigius) is mentioned for the first time by Amm. in 15.5.36; his function then, i.e. in 355, was *rationarius apparitionis armorum magistri*; see De Jonge ad loc. He was *magister officiorum* to Valentinian in the years c. 367–371/372. He was related to Romanus and protected him at the imperial court from the provincials’ complaints in Africa; 28.6.8–9, 29.5.2, 30.2.10–11. In 371/372 he retired to his native

Mogontiacum (modern Mainz). In 374/5 his misconduct and support of Romanus' criminal acts were exposed, as a consequence of which he took his own life; 15.5.36, 28.6.30, 30.2.11–12. Amm. describes in 30.8.12 how Remigius calmed down Valentinian when the emperor was on the verge of bursting into anger, namely by hinting, among other things, at imminent outbreaks of barbarians; his fear for the barbarians soothed the emperor. For the function of *magister officiorum* see the note ad 20.2.2.

Gestorum autem per eas regiones seriem plenam et Ruricii praesidis legatorumque mortem et cetera luctuosa, cum adegerit ratio, diligentius explicabo For the expression *gestorum series*, which occurs only in the later books of the *Res Gestae* see the note ad 25.8.12 *extollere seriem*. Amm. will relate the events concerning Ruricius and the delegates in full in 28.6.22–23. As Marié remarks in her Introduction on p. 40, this decision is not taken for reasons of chronology (*ordo*), but of composition (*ratio*; see for this meaning of *ratio* 15.4.1 *cuius loci figuram breviter, quantum ratio patitur, designabo*; 23.6.10 *Nunc locorum situm, quantum ratio sinit, carptim breviter absolvam*). The long and detailed report on African matters (thirty sections) would have upset the balance of Book 27, whereas at the end of Book 28 this account of the deplorable state of one of the provinces is the fitting counterpart of the long opening chapter with its depiction of Maximinus' reign of terror in the capital. The reason why Amm. announces the future treatment of African matters here can only be guessed at. In 26.4.5 he had spoken about barbarian attacks on all parts of the empire, the *Austoriani Mauricaeque aliae gentes* among them. Amm. may have felt obliged to devote some attention to Africa in Book 27, just as he had to Germany, Thrace and Britain.

Ruricius (*PLRE* I, Ruricius) was *praeses Tripolitanae* in the period 364–c. 368. He was temporarily put in charge of military affairs after complaints about the conduct of Romanus (28.6.11).

et quoniam adest liber locus dicendi, quae sentimus, aperte loquemur Amm. alludes to Tac. *Hist.* 1.1.4 *rara temporum felicitate, ubi sentire quae velis et quae sentias dicere licet*, where Tacitus refers to the reigns of Nerva and Trajan, after the Flavian dynasty, the subject of his *Histories*. In the same way Amm., writing during the reign of Theodosius, feels free to speak frankly about the reigns of Valentinian and Valens. The phrase *liber locus dicendi* is borrowed from Cic. *Brut.* 256 *est autem quod sentias dicendi liber locus* with a slight modification for the sake of the cursus.

9.3

9.4

hunc imperatorem omnium primum in maius militares fastus ad damna rerum auxisse communium dignitates opesque eorum sublimius erigentem In 21.16.1 (q.v.) Constantius is praised for curbing the arrogance of his generals: *numquam erigens cornua militarium*. Such a haughty general was Barbatio, who tried to treat the Caesar Julian in the same way as he had Gal-lus, 18.3.6 *nobilioris militiae fastu elatus in Iulianum itidem Caesarem paria confingebat*. An example of the pernicious effect on the state of such insolence was the revolt of Firmus, which was provoked by the arro-gance and the rapacity of the military, 30.7.10 *cum voraces militarium fas-tus ferre nequiens Firmus ad omnes dissensionum motus perflabiles gentes Mauricas concitasset*. Amm. uses the pleonastic *in maius* with *augere* also in 16.10.17 (fama) *augens omnia semper in maius*, 16.12.16 and 20.4.2, with *exaggerare* in 19.11.3 *in maius exaggerata* and 29.3.1. The expression *res communes* for the (interest of the) state is found also in 14.1.1 *Fortunae saevientes procellae tempestates alias rebus infudere communibus* and 21.13.10 *humanitatem, quam credidi negotiis communibus profuturam*. Amm. uses the singular in 28.4.2 *vitium... nocens rei communi, sed in alto iudice maculosum*; 30.3.4 *ut conducebat rei communi* (cf. 31.4.13). For *sublimius erigere* see the note ad 27.11.2 *nunc beneficum*.

et, quod erat publice privatimque dolendum, inflexa saevitia punientem gregari-orum errata, parcentem potioribus The words *publice privatimque* are chiasti-cally linked to *gregariorum* and *potioribus*. The cruel punishment of the common soldier led to private suffering, whereas the lenient treatment of the mighty fuelled their pernicious arrogance. The rare adjective *indeflexus* occurs also in 17.5.10, where Constantius chides Sapor for his obstinate acquisitiveness, *cupiditatem... semper indeflexam*. Plin. *Pan.* 4.7 praises Trajan's *aetatis indeflexa maturitas* i.e. his maturity that knew no decline and Apul. *Soc.* 2 uses it for the unswerving course of the plan-ets; TLL VII 1.1133.37–48. V reads *parcere*, Gelenius *parcentem*. The present infinitive seems impossible to defend, since it must refer to Valentinian, who was dead at the moment of writing, so that an inf. perf. (cf. *auxisse*) would have been necessary.

For similar criticisms cf. 30.5.3 *erat severus in gregariis corrigendis, remis-sior erga maiores fortunas vel verbis asperioribus incessendas* and 30.9.1 *militaris disciplinae censor eximius in hoc tantum deerrans, quod, cum gregariorum etiam levia puniret errata, potiorum ducum flagitia progredi sinebat in maius ad querellas in eos motas aliquotiens obsurdens*. Alföldi, 1952, 45 convincingly argues that Amm.'s judgement of Valentinian's severity towards the small man while shutting his eyes with regard to the powerful is not sustainable.

Amm. is blackening Valentinian more than reality allows for. In fact, he did punish and threaten *potiores* for their misdeeds, such as the praetorian prefect Petronius Probus (30.5.4), the former *comes largitionum Illyrici* Diocles and the former *agens in rebus* Diodorus (27.7.5, with notes), the provincial governor Africanus (29.3.6), and the tribunes Claudius and Sallustius (29.3.7). More examples in Alföldi, 1952, 46–47.

qui tamquam peccatis indulta licentia ad labes delictorum immanium consurgebant Cf. 14.1.4. *tamquam licentia crudelitati indulta* and 14.6.7 *tamquam indulta licentia vitiiis*. The only quotation from Amm. in antiquity concerns *indultus* as perfect participle of *indulgere* in Prisc. *gramm.* II 487.1; see the note ad 25.8.1 *pax specie*. The verb *consurgere* usually denotes enthusiasm for a noble action, as in 14.2.17 *eum in certamen alacriter consurgentem*, 16.4.5 *sublato animo ad exsequenda plurima consurgebat* and 27.6.15 *consurrectum est post haec in laudes maioris principis et novelli* (q.v.). Here, however, it refers sarcastically to the perverse malice of the powerful. *Delictorum* is a gen. inversus. For the ‘horrible misdeeds by which they disgraced themselves’ cf. 28.4.5 *tanta plerosque labes insanabilium flagitiorum oppressit*.

qui ex eo anhelantes ex nutu suo indistanter putant omnium pendere fortunas As the switch from the imperf. *consurgebant* to the present *putant* shows, *ex eo* must be given its temporal sense ‘since then’. The present tense means that according to Amm. these generals persevered until the time of writing in their arrogant ways. It is very unusual for one relative clause to be joined asyndetically to the next. There is a parallel in a similar diatribe against the courtiers of Valens, 29.1.19 *admovente stimulos avaritia et sua et eorum, qui tunc in regia versabantur. . . ; qui cruentis adulationibus institutum hominis mortem in acie linguae portantis* (i.e. Valens) *ad partem pessimam depravantes* etc. (“The flattery of these bloodsuckers fatally corrupted the character of a man who had death at the tip of his tongue”, tr. Hamilton). The asyndeton is suggestive of the breathless indignation of the author. Müller, 1873, 346 proposed to read *altius anhelantes*, which is probably right in view of 16.12.46, 18.4.2, 26.6.1 *velut imperatoris cognatus altius anhelabat* (q.v.) and 31.7.1. Harmon 237 agrees, because the addition results in a *cursus velox*. For *ex nutu suo* cf. 19.12.13 about Paul ‘the Chain’: *cuius ex nutu, prope dixerim, pendebat incidentium omnium* (‘all who were involved’) *salus*. The adverb *indistanter* is extremely rare. Apart from 28.2.10, where it is a conjecture of Müller, it is found only in Prisc. *gramm.* II 44.5; TLL VII 1.1207.22–27.

- 9.5 *horum flatus et pondera inventores iuris antiqui mollientes etiam insontes quosdam aliquotiens supplicii aboleri censuere letalibus* Strictly speaking *horum* must refer to the powerful generals of Valentinian, but since the “legislators of earlier times” (Hamilton) cannot have had them in mind, *horum* must be given the wider meaning of ‘such persons’. *Mollire* here has the meaning “to make less fierce or wild, tame” (OLD s.v. 5). In 14.1.10 Amm. uses it as an equivalent of *mitigare*: Thalassius did not make Gallus milder, *non maturitate vel consiliis mitigabat, ut aliquotiens celsae potestates iras principum molliverunt*. Cf. TLL VIII 1367.57–68, where Sulp. Sev. dial. 2.5.7 is quoted: *imperatoris spiritum superbum molliendum esse*. For *flatus* ‘pride’ see the note ad 20.9.4 *tumentis flatu* and cf. 28.1.31 *anhelans flatu superbo*. *Pondera* must have a similar meaning: ‘pomposity’. The nearest parallel in the *Res Gestae* is 14.5.1 *insolentiae pondera gravius librans*. For *supplicium letale* ‘capital punishment’ cf. 16.8.6 *ambo sententia damnare letali*; 22.3.12 *Eusebium...alte spirantem addixere et dirum poenae letali*; 28.1.14 *quem...supplicio letali damnavit*.

According to Valesius Amm. alludes here to ostracism, the introduction of which was ascribed to the Athenian Cleisthenes c. 500 B.C. This is an attractive idea, since the aim of ostracism was to prevent individual citizens from becoming too powerful. There are moreover several examples of innocent persons who were ostracized, most notably Aristides, ‘the Just’, who was a victim in 482 B.C. Nevertheless, two objections should be raised: persons who were ostracized were not sentenced to death but sent into exile. Secondly, it is difficult to see how the victims of ostracism can be said to have been punished *ob multitudinis crimina*, as Amm. goes on to say. As to the first objection, it is quite conceivable that Amm. was unaware of this. As regards *multitudo* it may be said that *multitudo* here does not refer to the whole population, but contrasts with *nonnulli* and is the equivalent of *multorum*, as in 21.12.6 *ferramentorum multitudine* ‘with many iron tools’ and 22.16.12 *religiosa operum multitudine* ‘by many other works of art’. Thus the words mean that, occasionally, innocent people have been the victims of the misdeeds of many others.

quod saepe contingit, cum ob multitudinis crimina nonnulli sortis iniquitate pleuntur innoxii; id enim nonnumquam ad privatorum pertinuit causas It would have been gratifying if Amm. had been more specific. As the sentence stands it is a truism. For *sortis iniquitate* ‘unjustly’ cf. 19.12.13 *Et hos quidem aliosque paucos aequa sors veritatis adiutrix periculis exemit abruptis*, “These, then, and a few others were saved from the last extremity by the justice

of fate, which came to the aid of truth”, tr. Hamilton). The *enim*-clause is an enigmatic statement, made even more puzzling by the appeal to the reader’s understanding expressed by the particle: ‘since this (as we all know) has sometimes affected private persons’. For this meaning of *pertinere ad* cf. TLL X 1.1798.9–29 and in particular Cic. *Att.* 1.19.4 *ex hac ego lege... omnia illa tollebam, quae ad privatorum incommodum pertinebant*. At first glance one is inclined to refer *id* to the preceding *quod*-clause. This would mean that in Amm.’s opinion private persons have often fallen victim to the misdeeds of overbearing magistrates, which is only too true. The reference to *privatorum causas*, however, may be less vague than it seems to be at first sight. In the comparable diatribe against the *potentium tumor* under Valens in 30.4.1–2 we find a similar connection between the arrogance of the courtiers and the military officials on the one hand, and ordinary citizens on the other. The courtiers convinced Valens that it would be *infra dignitatem* for him to occupy himself with the petty details of matters pertaining to private persons: *quod infra imperiale columen causarum essent minutiae privatarum* (§ 2). Valens followed their advice and as a consequence judges and advocates had free play, *qui tenuiorum negotia militaris rei rectoribus vel intra palatium validis venditantes aut opes aut honores quaesivere praeclaros* (‘who sold the interests of ordinary people to military commanders and mighty persons in the palace in order to gain great riches or high positions’). In other words, when an emperor gives free rein to his generals or civil servants, the ordinary citizens pay the price for his neglect. By contrast, a good emperor like Julian even during crises gives his time and attention to ordinary citizens, 21.12.23 *nec privatorum utilitates in tempore ita flagranti despiciens* etc. (q.v.). If this is the line of thought which Amm. follows in the present passage, *id* refers directly to the bad behaviour of the generals and indirectly to Valentinian himself, who indulged their arrogance.

At in Isauria globatim per vicina digressi praedones oppida villasque uberes libera populatione vexantes magnitudine iacturarum Pamphyliam afflictabant et Cilicas Amm. describes both Cilicia and Isauria as fertile areas: *Cilicia spatii porrigitur late distentis dives bonis omnibus terra eiusque lateri dextro annexa Isauria pari sorte uberi palmitum viret et frugibus multis* (14.8.1). This is the third and last time that Amm. reports about the troubles which the Isaurians caused the Romans. The first time was in 14.2 (Isaurian raids in 354) and the second time in 19.13 (events of 359). The Isaurians descended from the mountains, where they lived, to raid the fertile Cilician and Pamphylian plains and their *oppida* and *villae*. Zos. 4.20.1

refers to a similar event: Οὐάλεντα δὲ τὸν βασιλέα πολλὰι πολλαχόθεν περιεστήκεσαν πολέμων ἐπιφοραί· καὶ πρῶτον μὲν Ἰσαυροὶ... τὰς ἐν Λυκίᾳ καὶ Παμφυλίᾳ πόλεις ἐπόρθουν, “A succession of wars beset the emperor Valens on all sides. First the Isaurians... ravaged the cities in Lycia and Pamphylia” (tr. Ridley). In spite of the similarity, the event Zosimus describes took place in 376/7 and is not the same as the Isaurian inroads described here by Amm., which are to be dated to 367/8; Paschoud n. 141 and Paschoud, 2006, 483–484; Marié n. 277; Blockley, 1983, 141 n. 97; Lenski, 1999, 314–320. That Amm. does not mention the 376/7 uprising is noteworthy because it falls within the chronological framework of his *Res Gestae*; however, he may have omitted it in order not to interrupt the flow of his narrative. For the same reason he probably omitted to mention a Gothic civil war (c. 372) and a Saracen uprising (c. 377/8); Lenski, 1999, 314. For Amm., Isauria and the Isaurian uprisings, see Syme, 1968, 43–45; Matthews 355–367; Hopwood, 1999; Lenski, 1999, 309–313.

In the fourth century Pamphylia was one of the provinces belonging to the diocese Asiana; *Not. Dign. Or.* 2.31, 34.12. The province Cilicia was part of the diocese Oriens (*Not. Dign. Or.* 2.12, 22.22; *Or.* 1.94, 2.23 and 22.14, 30 mentions a Cilicia Secunda, but this was probably only created after 381; Eadie, 1967, 158); so was Isauria (*Not. Dign. Or.* 2.15, 22.31). Isauria had a *comes rei militaris et praeses*, a governor who combined military and civil authority (*Not. Dign. Or.* 29.6), who apparently had not been able to keep the Isaurians under control. For the administrative organisation of the area, see Matthews 357.

The Isaurian brigands operated in much the same way as the Alamans in 27.1.1 *cuneatim egressa multitudo licentius vagabatur*: they operated in small bands (*globalim* is a variation on *cuneatim*, cf. *unum cuneum grassatorum* below) without meeting any resistance (*libera populatione*, cf. *nullis arcentibus* below) whilst inflicting heavy losses.

quos cum nullis arcentibus internecive cuncta disperdere Asiae vicarius ea tempestate Musonius advertisset, Athenis Atticis antehac magister rhetoricus Musonius (PLRE I, Musonius 2) studied under Eusebius of Alexandria; Eun. *VS* 10.7.13. That he taught rhetoric in Athens before he embarked on a political career is also mentioned by Him. *Or.* 39, who reports that he was *vicarius Macedoniae* in 362. He is probably the Musonius whom Zos. 5.5.2 described as: Ἑλλήν ἀνὴρ καὶ παιδείας ἥκων εἰς ἄκρον, and who had three sons: Musonius, Antiochus and Axiochus. Eun. *f.* 43.1 also had a high opinion of him: φιλόκαλος γὰρ ὢν καὶ φιλάγαθος

ὁ Μουσώνιος τοὺς πανταχόθεν καθεῖλκεν παρ' ἑαυτόν, ὥσπερ ἡ μαγνήτις λίθος τὸν σίδηρον, “Musonius, being a lover of beauty and goodness, attracted all to himself from all sides as a magnet attracts iron” (tr. Blockley). As *vicarius Asiae* or *Asianae* he was the deputy of the praetorian prefect (*vices agens praefectorum praetorio*), in this case the *comes Orientis*; Jones 46–47 and the note ad 22.11.1 *Iulianus*. The diocese of Asiana comprised nine provinces; *Not. Dign. Or.* 2.30–39; Jones 47. The *vicarius Asianae* is to be distinguished from the *proconsul Asiae* for which function see the note ad 26.8.12 *Hormisdas*.

The seemingly pleonastic *Athenis Atticis* is a typically Plautine expression, cf. *Rud.* 741. *Immo Athenis natus altusque educatusque Atticis*; *Epid.* 502, *Ps.* 416, *Truc.* 497, *Mil.* 100 with Brix-Niermeyer's comment: “das echte Athen.” The expression is found also in *Apul. Fl.* 18, *Met.* 1.24 and *Macr. Sat.* 5.1.20, 7.1.17. It tallies with Zosimus' characterization quoted above. The predicament of Gaul before Julian was appointed Caesar is described in very similar terms: 15.8.1 *Constantium vero exagitabant assidui nuntii deploratas iam Gallias indicantes nullo renitente ad internecionem barbaris vastantibus universa*. For *internecivus* see the note ad 20.4.10.

deploratis novissime rebus luxuque adiumento militari marcente The participle *deploratis* is used adjectivally, and the expression as a whole seems to be taken from *Flor. Epit.* 2.15.16 *deploratis novissime rebus*, ‘when at last the situation was hopeless’, about Carthage at the end of the Third Punic War. For *adiumentum* in the sense of ‘auxiliary contingent’ see the note ad 27.3.12 *ad usque*. Amm. may have had *Liv.* 23.45.2 *qui pugnent, marcere Campana luxuria* (‘that their soldiers were weakened by the luxury of Campania’) in mind. In Roman historical writings *disciplina militaris* or – *castrensis* is a recurrent theme; see the note ad 22.4.6 *flagitia* and add to the literature mentioned there Wheeler, 1996 and Phang, 2008.

adhibitis semermibus paucis, quos Diogmitas appellant, unum grassatorum cuneum, si patuisset facultas, adoriri conatus Amm. contemptuously calls the Isaurians *grassatores*, for which term see the note ad 24.3.2. For *cuneus* see the note ad 24.2.14 *cuneatim stipatus*. Note the caveat *si patuisset facultas*, on which see the note ad 27.8.2 *quibus magno*. As *vicarius* Musonius was a civil official and not a military man; Rougé, 1966, 303. Because the army failed to intervene, Musonius probably felt obliged to react to the Isaurian raids in Pamphylia, which province fell under his jurisdiction. Presumably Musonius departed from Sardis, the seat of the vicar of Asia, some 500 km west-northwest to Pamphylia; a certain Theodorus,

possibly the former governor of a province of Asiana in 364–365 (*PLRE* I, Theodorus 11; Blockley, 1983, 141 n. 96), deplored his departure; Eun. *fr.* 43.2 Μουσώνιος ἵππον ἐπιβὰς ἐξήει τῶν Σάρδεων. καὶ ὁ Θεόδωρος...ἐδάκρυσεν τὴν ἑξοδὸν, καὶ ἀνδρὶ τᾶλλα γε ἀτεράμονι καὶ ἀτέγκτω δάκρυα κατεχεῖτο τῶν παρειῶν ἀκρατέστερον (“Musonius mounted a horse and left Sardis. Theodorus...wept at Musonius’ departure, and the tears poured uncontrollably down the cheeks of a man who was otherwise tough and unbending”; tr. Blockley).

Diogmitae were light-armed local policemen who were usually employed, as their name implies, to pursue fugitives; Jones, 1987. The word occurs only twice in Latin: in this passage by Amm. and in *HA MA* 21.7 *armavit et Diogmitas*.

The Roman defeat by the Isaurians is probably mentioned by Eun. *fr.* 43.4: Ὅτι οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι κατεκόπησαν παρὰ Ἰσαύρων, καὶ τούτῳ ὥσπερ δράματι μεγάλῳ καὶ τραχεῖ τὸ κατὰ Μουσώνιον ἐπεισόδιον οὐκ ἔλαττον ὁ δαίμων ἐπήνεγκεν (“The Romans were butchered by the Isaurians, and to this, as to some great and savage tragedy, the god joined the no less terrible affair of Musonius”; tr. Blockley). A certain Theodorus (*PLRE* I, 12) – possibly the same as the Theodorus mentioned above – composed an epigram (Eun. *fr.* 43.3) on the occasion of Musonius’ death in which he is compared to the Homeric heroes Ajax, Achilles and Patroclus:

ἐνθα μὲν Αἴας κεῖται ἀρήιος, ἐνθα δ’ Ἀχιλλεύς,
ἐνθα δὲ Πάτροκλος θεόφιν μῆστωρ ἀτάλαντος,
ἐνθα δ’ ἐπὶ τρισσοῖσι πανείκελος ἡρώεσσι
ψυχὴν καὶ βίότιο τέλος Μουσώνιος ἦρως

There warlike Ajax lies, there lies Achilles,
There lies Patroclus, a god-like counsellor,
There lies the hero, alike in all ways

To all three in his soul and the end of his life, Musonius (tr. Blockley)

per angustum quandam transiens devexitatis amfractum ad inevitabiles venit insidias et ibi cum his confossus est, quos ducebat “In passing down through a narrow and winding pass” (tr. Rolfe). The adjective *inevitabilis*, which is a hapax in Amm., means ‘from which one cannot escape’ rather than ‘which cannot be avoided’. One may compare Tac. *Ann.* 1.74.3 *Marcellum insimulabat sinistros de Tiberio sermones habuisse, inevitabile crimen*, ‘an accusation against which one cannot defend oneself’.

9.7 *tali successu latrones praetumidos palantesque per varia confidentius interfectis aliquibus ad latebrosa montium saxa, quae incolunt, excitae tandem copiae con-*

truserunt In 14.2.8 and 20 Amm. also calls the Isaurians *latrones* (cf. *grassatores* in the preceding section). He uses the word *latro* often for rebellious barbarians; 16.12.6 (Alamanni); 23.6.2 (the Parthian Arsaces); 24.2.4 (the Saracen Podosaces); 28.5.7 (Saxons); 30.6.2 (Quadi). Amm. uses *praetumidus*, for which see the note ad 22.3.9 *cum Arbitionem*, elsewhere about arrogant individual rulers, such as the Persian king (23.6.5) or the Roman emperor (26.10.10). Applied to *latrones* it sounds ironical. For the negative connotations of *confidens* see the note ad 20.4.18 *capiti Iuliani*. Substantivized *per varia* ('in all directions', 'everywhere') is found only, and quite often, in Amm.: 16.3.3 *exercitui per varia discursuro* (cf. 24.4.9); 19.8.11 *inopini per varia visebantur*; 19.11.5 *quam ob rem...ita palarentur per varia*; 21.8.3 *diffusi per varia* (cf. 27.2.1); 30.6.4 *per varia sparserat*; 31.5.9 *per varia grassabantur*. For a list of substantivized adjectives with preposition see De Jonge ad 14.1.3 *inter humilia*. In 14.2.2 the Isaurians are also described as lying in wait before attacking *avis latebrosis sese convallibusque occultantes*. The most important information in this sentence is given almost casually in the participle *excitae*. Finally, after the slaughtering of Musonius and the *Diogmitae* and after the Isaurians had extended the area of their raids, the Romans managed to mobilize troops to drive the raiders away. Comitatusian units – *copiae* must refer to *comitatenses*; Rougé, 1966, 308; Lenski, 1999, 310 n.14 – were called out and sent to the region. Amm. leaves his readers in the dark as to which units exactly were sent against the Isaurians and who their commanding general was, but possibly the tribune Aliso who is mentioned in 26.8.9–10 was among them; see the note ad 26.8.10 *diu post*. Possibly Lycaonia and Pisidia had also fallen victim to the raiding Isaurians. According to Lenski, 1999, 311 and 2002, 198–199 it is likely that dedicatory inscriptions in Pisidian Antioch (Levick, 1965, 59–62 = *AE* 1965.15) and Iconium in Lycaonia (*CIG* 3992) were set up as thank-offerings to Valens because he had relieved them of the Isaurian raids.

ubi cum eis nec quiescendi nec inveniendi ad victum utilia copia laxaretur, per indutias pacem sibi tribui poposcerunt For *laxare* as an equivalent of *concedere* see the note ad 20.11.9 *laxatis deinde*. The expression *copiam laxare* is found only in Amm., here and in 22.15.22 *laxataque copia*. For *indutiae* see the note ad 20.8.9 *cumque nullae*. Since the troops did not give the Isaurians a moment's rest, we must suppose that *per indutias* is part of their request: they asked for a truce during which they might make peace.

Germanicopolitanis auctoribus, quorum apud eos ut signiferae manus semper valere sententiae There is no precise parallel for the comparison between the leading role of the Germanicopolitans and the hands of a standard-bearer, but Ambrose's *ratio signifera libertatis* comes close: *epist.* 2.7.32 (ut) *sapientes autem veram legem naturae expressam ad imaginem dei veramque rationem signiferam libertatis neglegant et derelinquant.*

Germanicopolis (modern Ermenek) was situated high up in the Taurus mountains; Talbert 66 B3; Tomaschitz, 1998. Its inhabitants, most likely the curial elite, clearly were held in high esteem by and exerted great influence over the Isaurian mountain people and its leaders. The Isaurians followed their advice as soldiers follow their standard-bearer in battle. Since the Germanicopolitan elite had contacts with both the Isaurian insurgents and with the Roman authorities, they could function as mediators in the Roman-Isaurian conflict and could arbitrate in the negotiations for a truce; see Hopwood, 1986, 350–351. Matthews 365: “we can glimpse the role of a city, seated in the rebellious area and able to act as intermediary in a conflict with which, through location, economic interest and social connections between themselves and the rebels, its citizens must have felt themselves to be closely involved”.

obsidibusque datis, ut imperatum est, immobiles diu mansere nihil audentes hostile Amm. has several examples of the giving of hostages in order to keep a truce or maintain peace. The Romans received hostages from the Sarmatians (17.12.11, 15), the Quadi (17.12.13), the Goths (27.5.10), and the Alamanni (28.2.6); the rebel Firmus presented hostages to Theodosius several times in order to reach a peace agreement (29.5.9, 15, 16); in one case the Romans were asked to deliver hostages to the Goths (31.12.14). According to Rougé, 1966, 295 the Roman authorities, by requesting hostages from the Isaurians, recognized the (semi-)independence of the Isaurian region within the empire. Zos. 4.20.1 (quoted above) refers to new troubles with the Isaurians in 376/7, after some eight years that is. The expression *immobiles diu mansere* should therefore not be considered as referring to a long-standing peace. At the beginning of his report of the Isaurian uprising in 359 Amm. writes that the Isaurians had long been quiet after their previous revolt which had taken place in 354; 19.13.1 *His temporibus Isauri diu quieti post gesta, quae superior continet textus.* At the end of his description of the same revolt Amm. reports that for a long time nothing occurred whereas the next uprising already took place in 367/8; 19.13.2 *ut diu... nihil accideret, quod*

animadversione dignum aestimaretur. Amm.'s *diu* is therefore not as long as may be suspected but implies a period of no more than five to ten years; Lenski, 1999, 314.

Normally the expression *manere immobilis* denotes steadfastness in times of crisis, as Julian showed in his last moments, 25.3.9 *sed cum vires parum sufficerent voluntati sanguinisque profluvio vexaretur, mansit immobilis* (q.v.), but here it describes the submission of the Isaurians, who did not dare to make a move.

Haec inter Praetextatus praefecturam urbis sublimius cūrans Normally Amm. writes *inter haec* (14.6.1, 14.11.17, 15.5.9, 16.10.18, 19.6.7, 22.12.1, 23.2.1, 26.1.6, 27.6.1); apart from this passage he writes *haec inter* also in 25.7.4 and 28.2.10. For Vettius Agorius Praetextatus (*PLRE* I, Praetextatus 1), see the note ad 22.7.6 *Aderat his omnibus*; add to the literature there Kahlos, 2002. His career is given in *CIL* 6.1779 (= *ILS* 1259). He was e.g. *proconsul Achaiae* in 362–364 and *PPO Italiae Illyrici et Africae* in 384. Praetextatus is attested as urban prefect of Rome from 18 August 367 until 20 September 368; Chastagnol, 1962, 171–178. He died at the end of 384 as designate consul. Amm. mentions him in 28.1.24 (*Praetextatus ex urbi praefecto*) as member of a senatorial embassy to Valentinian. He was a convinced adherent of polytheism and held several priesthoods; Von Haehling, 1978, 301, 359 and 378. Barnes 115 n. 32 draws attention to the fact that Amm. does not mention the religious convictions of Symmachus and Praetextatus, even though the former (27.3.3–4) was *pontifex maior* and *quindecimvir sacris faciundis* and the latter was called *sacrorum omnium praesul* by Macrobius in *Sat.* 1.17.1. This is true, but not surprising, since Amm., apart from Constantius and Julian, never provides information on the religious convictions of the characters in his work. Praetextatus was probably Amm.'s source for events in Constantinople during Julian's stay in the eastern capital; Matthews 23.

The comparative *sublimius* is probably chosen to obtain a cursus planus; cf. 23.6.2 *clarorum contextu factorum aucti sublimius* (tardus) and 23.6.17 *ante quam sublimius vagaretur* (velox).

per integritatis multiplices actus et probitatis, quibus ab adolescentiae rudimentis inclaruit Zos. 4.3.3 also speaks highly of Praetextatus: ἀνὴρ ἐν πάσαις διαπρέπων ταῖς ἀρεταῖς. Praise for their integrity is also accorded to the urban prefects Apronianus and Viventius in 26.3.1 *iudex integer et severus* and 27.3.11 *integer et prudens Pannonius* respectively. For *rudimentum* cf. e.g. 23.6.2 *inter adolescentiae rudimenta*.

adeptus est id, quod raro contingit, ut, cum timeretur, amorem non perderet civium minus firmari solitum erga iudices formidatos Lindenbrog aptly quoted Claud. *Epith. Hon.* 330–331 *non odium terrore moves nec frena resolvit / gratia; diligimus pariter pariterque timemus*. Remarkably, there is no parallel for the phrase *firmare amorem*, ‘to make durable’, which Amm. seems to have coined on the analogy of *firmare amicitiam*, cf. 30.3.5 *amicitia media sacramenti fide firmatur*; Liv. 9.3.10 *perpetuam firmare pacem amicitiamque*; Tac. *Ann.* 2.1.2 (Phraates) *partemque prolis firmandae amicitiae miserat*. For *iudex* as a general term for a civilian official see the note ad 20.5.7 *civilis... iudex*.

- 9.9** *cuius auctoritate iustisque veritatis suffragiis tumultu lenito* Again the gen. inversus enables Amm. to add two attributes to one Head, since *iusta veritatis suffragia* is the equivalent of *suffragia iusta et vera*, cf. the note ad 26.7.1 *insoliti casus*. Amm. uses the noun *suffragium* in its original meaning ‘vote’ in 14.6.6 *nulla suffragiorum certamina* and 25.5.3 *utriusque exercitus consociata suffragia legitimum principem declarabunt*. The wider meaning ‘judgement’ is found in 17.5.3 *in corruptum aequitatis... suffragium* (q.v.); 21.13.14 *favore numinis summi praesente, cuius perenni suffragio damnantur ingrati*; 27.6.9 *librabit suffragiis puris merita recte secusve factorum* (q.v.).

quem Christianorum iurgia concitarunt A reference to the quarrels about the see of Rome between the adherents of Damasus and Ursinus described in 27.3.12–13 (with notes).

pulsoque Ursino alta quies est parta See for Ursinus the note ad 27.3.12 *Damasus et Ursinus*. Ursinus was exiled in 366 but was allowed by Valentinian to return to Rome where he arrived on 15 September 367; *Avell.* 1.10 (p. 4, 5–9). However, troubles soon started again between Ursinus and his followers on the one hand and Damasus and his adherents on the other. Praetextatus supported Damasus and expelled Ursinus c.s. from the city with the approval of the emperor; *Avell.* 7 (p. 49–50). Meetings of the Ursinians *intra muros* were forbidden and they convened *ad sanctam Agnem*, i.e. S. Agnese on the Via Nomentana; *Avell.* 1.12 (p. 4). See Chastagnol, 1960, 153–154; Kahlos, 2002, 115–120; Lizzi Testa, 2004, 160–162. The phrase *alta quies* is poetic, Verg. *A.* 6.522 *dulcis et alta quies placidaeque simillima morti*.

proposito civium Romanorum aptissima et adolecebat gloria praeclari rectoris plura et utilia disponentis For *propositum*, ‘inclination’, ‘character’, see the note

ad 20.5.4 *numquam a proposito*. This is a surprising statement about the citizens of Rome. At the outset of his first Roman digression (14.6.2) Amm. had complained that in relating events in Rome *nihil praeter seditiones narratur et tabernas et vilitates harum similes alias*. But in this idealized description of Praetextatus' prefecture the Roman plebs is depicted as peace-loving, whereas the disturbances are seen as the exclusive responsibility of warring Christian factions. There is a note on *disponere* ad 20.4.9.

namque et Maeniana sustulit omnia fabricari Romae priscis quoque vetita legibus A *maenianum* is a balcony or a projecting gallery of a house. The term is derived from the censor Maenius who in 348 B.C. was the first to add such a structure to provide a better view of the games in the forum; *maeniana appellata sunt a Maenio censore, qui primus in Foro ultra columnas tigna proiecit, quo ampliarentur superiora spectacula*; Fest. p.134 M. For *maeniana* see in particular Ebert, 1928. It is not clear to which *priscas leges* Amm. refers.

9.10

Whether Praetextatus' measure was adequately executed is uncertain; *Cod. Just.* 8.10.11 from 423, although not exclusively pertaining to Rome, still mentions the existence of balconies, and orders that the distance between two opposite *Maeniana* should be ten feet, otherwise they should be lopped off. Apart from the fact that the measure may have been taken because these structures narrowed the streets and therefore caused a greater fire risk (Chastagnol, 1960, 370), Praetextatus' measure should probably also be seen in the context of his polytheism. Kahlos, 2002, 95 has suggested that it was not his intention to demolish all *maeniana* but only those which obstructed the view of pagan buildings, in particular those on the Forum Romanum. There may be a connection here with Praetextatus' restoration of the *Porticus Deorum Consentium* and its *sacrosancta simulacra* on the Forum; *CIL* 6.102 = *ILS* 4003; Kahlos, 2002, 91–93. The suggestion that Praetextatus' measure was ideologically motivated is attractive, not only in connection with his restoration of the *Porticus Deorum Consentium*, but also because immediately afterwards Amm. mentions Praetextatus' order to separate walls of private houses from sacred buildings which had irreverently (*inverecunde*) been built against them. Moreover, in 384 when he was praetorian prefect, he had tried to put a stop to the plundering and destruction of pagan shrines and had arranged with the emperor (Valentinian II) that Symmachus, city prefect at the time, was

empowered to investigate spoliation of sacred buildings and to bring offenders to justice; Symm. *Rel.* 21.2–3; Kahlos, 2002, 95–96.

discrevit ab aedibus sacris privatorum parietes isdem inverecunde conexos Several laws demand that there should be a certain distance between a public – not only sacred – and a private building for the sake of safety, in particular to diminish the danger of fire spreading; e.g. *Cod. Theod.* 15.1.4, 15.1.38, 15.1.39, 15.1.46, 15.1.47; Chastagnol, 1960, 370. Already Nero had taken similar measures after the great fire of Rome in 64 A.D.; Tac. *Ann.* 15.43.1–3; Suet. *Nero* 16. Although safety may have been a motivation, Amm.'s *inverecunde* leaves no doubt that Praetextatus' measure was primarily religiously inspired; see the note above.

ponderaque per regiones instituit universas The city of Rome was divided into fourteen regions by Augustus. In Late Antiquity this zoning of the city still existed, as is clear from the fourth-century *Notitia Romanae*, a catalogue of buildings, monuments and noteworthy sights in these fourteen regions; Nordh, 1949; Chastagnol, 1996. One of the city prefect's tasks was surveillance of the markets; amongst other things he controlled the accuracy of weights and measures, money and prices in order to avoid malpractice; Chastagnol, 1960, 330–332. Establishing standard weights in every district of the city shows that such malpractice was in order when Praetextatus was city prefect. The reason for his measure may have been *Cod. Theod.* 14.4.4 of 8 October 367 and addressed to Praetextatus. This law *inter alia* orders that the weight of swine brought to the market is to be established by reliable scales and not by ocular estimate; Sirks, 1991, 372–374; Schmidt-Hofner, 2008, 316–320.

cum aviditati multorum ex libidine trutinas componentium occurri nequiret An impersonal passive after *nequire* is exceedingly rare, but there is one parallel in Sallust: *Jug.* 108.2 *nam ab insidiis eius aliter caveri nequivisse*. For *ex libidine* 'arbitrarily' cf. Sal. *Cat.* 8.1 (fortuna) *res cunctas ex libidine magis quam ex vero celebrat obscuratque*.

examinandis vero litibus ante alios id impetravit, quod laudando Brutum Tullius refert, ut cum nihil ad gratiam faceret, omnia tamen grata viderentur esse, quae facitabat The expression *examinare lites* is unique. Elsewhere Amm. writes *litesque audiens controversas* (21.12.23), *in litibus cognoscendis* (22.10.5); cf.

30.4.1. The nearest parallel would be Hor. *S.* 2.2.8–9 *Male verum examinat / corruptus iudex*. The quotation from Cicero is *Or.* 34 *itaque efficis ut, cum gratiae causa nihil facias, omnia tamen sint grata quae facis*. For Cicero, to whom Amm. refers more often than to any other author, see the notes ad 21.16.13 and 26.1.2 *haec quidam*. See Rota, 1996, 21.

CHAPTER 10

Introduction

In this chapter Ammianus gives a detailed account of Valentinian's campaign against the Alamanni in the year 368. He opens his report with two incidents, which, although they are not directly related to the campaign, are relevant because they illustrate the audacious and aggressive nature of these enemies of Rome. In § 1–2 Ammianus reports a raid on the city of Mainz by the Alamannic prince Rando, who in a surprise attack carried off men, women and a large booty while many citizens were celebrating a Christian festival. In § 3–4 the historian presents the elimination of another Alamannic war monger, Vithicabius, as a great and unexpected success for the Roman cause, despite the fact that the Romans had to resort to bribery and murder to reach their end. The actual preparations and the first stage of the campaign are described in § 5–6. Ammianus emphasizes the unprecedented scale of the expedition and the care with which Valentinian assembled and equipped his large army. After crossing the Rhine, the emperor, accompanied by his young son and co-ruler Gratian, advanced cautiously into enemy territory. The Alamans, however, avoided open battle, which irritated the soldiers, who wanted to settle the score with these elusive adversaries. In their frustration they set fire to houses and crops (§ 7). Finally, the enemy decided to face the Romans near a place called Solicinium. The Alamans took up position on the flanks of a mountain. The Roman commanders ordered their men, who were spoiling for a fight, to wait for the pre-arranged signal (§ 8–9). Before describing the actual battle, Ammianus pauses to relate how Valentinian ordered one of his commanders, Sebastianus, to take up position behind the enemy lines in order to crush the Alamans as soon as they would take flight. Valentinian himself surprised everyone by suddenly disappearing, while inspecting his troops, in order to discover better approaches to the mountain held by the Alamans (§ 9–10). This unexpected decision, taken without consulting the other commanders, proved almost fatal. The emperor's party was ambushed and Valentinian narrowly escaped. He escaped with his life, but lost his helmet, which was carried for him by a body-guard, who disappeared

without a trace during the skirmish (§ 11). The description of the battle itself in § 12–15 is a mixture of topical elements, such as the fighting skill of the Romans in man-to-man combat versus the temerity of the Alamans, and on the other hand very precise details, e.g. concerning the leading role played by two young officers during the uphill fight. When the Alamans finally had to give way, they were slaughtered by Sebastianus, who had been waiting for them on the other side of the mountain. In § 16 Ammianus draws up the balance sheet. It had been a costly victory, because the Romans had lost some prominent fighters, who are mentioned by name. After the battle Valentinian and Gratian returned to Trier.

The chapter offers a good opportunity to study Ammianus' assessment of Valentinian as an army commander. The detailed nature of the information contained in this chapter, e.g. the name Solicinium, the lost helmet, the names of the brave officers and of the fallen, and the role of Sebastianus makes the opinion of Sabbah 209 that Ammianus based himself on an official report, as he had done in chapter 2, very plausible. Such a report was by its very nature highly complimentary to the emperor. Ammianus, however, manages to present the facts in such a way that doubt is cast on the military qualities of Valentinian. The cautiousness on which he prided himself is subverted right from the start in section 1 by the sceptical comment *ut rebatur ipse*. The story of the emperor's reconnaissance ride and the mortal risk he ran in the course of it, was in its original form probably a tale of pure heroism. In the version of Ammianus, however, it showed up the emperor as a man who acted on the spur of the moment and without considering what the consequences might be for the army and the state, should anything happen to him. Without changing or subverting the facts Ammianus presents his personal view of Valentinian to the reader by means of casual remarks and a clever arrangement of the narrative.

- 10.1** *Sub idem fere tempus Valentiniano ad expeditionem caute, ut rebatur ipse, profecto* Amm. starts to relate the military events on the German frontier which he had broken off at the end of chapter two and only hinted at in 27.8.1 (*Profectus itaque ab Ambianis Treverosque festinans*, q.v.). *Sub idem fere tempus* must refer to the spring of 368, for, firstly, the last chronological clue Amm. had given was the reference in 27.9.8 (q.v.) to Praetextatus' urban prefecture (which is attested for the period between 18 August 367 and 20 September 368) and, secondly, in § 6 he tells his readers that it was *anni tempore iam tepente* that the emperor and his son crossed

the Rhine. He broke camp from Trier, where he had arrived on 13 October 367 at the latest (see the note ad 27.8.1 *Profectus*) and had spent the rest of 367 and the first half of 368 (references in Seeck, 1919, 230–233; cf. further below, ad § 6 *anni tempore*). After the campaign he returned to Trier (*imperatores Treveros reverterunt*, 27.10.16).

That Valentinian prided himself on his cautiousness has already been stated in 27.9.2 *princeps, ut prae se ferebat ipse, cautissimus*. It was noted ad loc. that the dark side of this quality was a lack of resolution in dealing with the plight of the provincials in Africa. Seager, 1999, 595 rightly calls attention to the sceptical comment *ut rebatur ipse*.

Alamannus regalis, Rando nomine, diu praestruens, quod cogitabat, Mogontiacum praesidiis vacuum cum expeditis ad latrocinandum latenter irrepsit Of prince Rando (*PLRE* I, Rando) nothing further is known. Presumably he belonged to the tribe of the Bucinobantes, for these Alamans lived near Mogontiacus or Mogontiacum (Talbert 2 E3, 12 B2), modern Mainz: (Bucinobantibus) *quae contra Mogontiacum gens est Alamannica* (29.4.7). For literature on the Alamans see the notes ad 21.3.1 *Alamannos*, 26.4.5 *Gallias* and 27.1.1 *Gallicanos*.

The word *regalis* is used to denote barbarian princes in e.g. 16.12.26, 17.12.9, 17.12.12, 17.12.21 and 22.12.2 (q.v.). Cf. *Cod. Theod.* 7.1.9, a law addressed to the *magister equitum* Iovinus (mentioned by Amm. inter alia in 27.2.1) and issued on 29 January 367: *Tam duces quam etiam comites et quibus Rheni est mandata custodia sinceritas tua protinus admonebit, ut neque regalibus neque legatis sua milites iumenta subpeditent* (“Your Sincerity shall immediately advise dukes, as well as counts and those officers to whom the custody of the Rhine has been assigned, that the military shall not supply their pack animals either to royal envoys or to delegates”, tr. Pharr, who notes with regard to *regales*: “either petty kings or princes, who might act as envoys to the Roman Emperor”). It was not the first time that Alamans seized Mogontiacus; cf. 16.2.12. It was a *municipium* in the province *prima Germania* (15.11.8, q.v.), where in 357 Julian had built a bridge to cross the Rhine in order to ravage villages of the Alamans (17.1.2) and where in 359 he had forbidden Florentius and Lupicinus to do the same because in the meantime the Alamans had surrendered (18.2.7; cf. 17.10.1). “Vom spätantiken Statthaltersitz Mogontiacum wissen wir praktisch nichts” (Haensch, 2003, 83).

In former days Mainz had been the base of the *legio XXII Primigenia* (for which see Franke, 1998), but this legion had left the city long ago. “Für die ersten Jahre Valentinians, von 364 bis 368, sind...keine

Garnisonen am Rheinabschnitt der *Germania prima* bekannt”, Scharf, 2005, 37 notes, arguing that with *praesidiis vacuum* Amm. simply means that Mogontiacus had no garrison at the time. He opposes those scholars who, pointing to Amm.’s text here, believe that “in Mainz immer noch eine ‘Kerntruppe’ der 22. Legion in Garnison gelegen habe, die dann von Valentinian 368 für seinen Feldzug abgezogen worden sei” (n. 70). Cf. for this view e.g. Haensch, 2004, 530, who assumes that Rando had free play because “la garnison était en train de célébrer une importante fête chrétienne... dans la paroisse locale”. See in general for Roman Mainz Decker and Selzer, 1976 and Jacobi, 1996.

The present participle *praestruens* has preterite force. See for this phenomenon Szantyr 387: “Das Spätlatein findet in dem Part. Praes. ein bequemes Mittel, das fehlende Part. Perf. Akt. zu ersetzen”. Cf. also the notes ad 16.2.6 *pavore traditos* and 20.11.3 *qui crebro*. For *praestruere* in the sense of *praeparare* see the note ad 16.11.3 and TLL X 2.944.66–945.33. Amm. uses the periphrasis *quod cogitabat* for ‘plan’ also in 14.3.2 *erat autem, quod cogitabat, huiusmodi* and 31.9.2 *id, quod cogitatum est, suspicatus*. The slightly pleonastic *latenter irrepere* is found also in Apul. *Met.* 9.5 *statim latenter inrepat eius hospitium temerarius adulter*.

- 10.2** *et quoniam casu Christiani ritus invenit celebrari sollemnitatem* Obviously Rando had failed to pay attention to the Christian calendar during his lengthy preparations for the raid on Mogontiacum (*casu* should of course be connected with *celebrari* rather than with *invenit*). It is not clear to which festival Amm. refers. Was it Epiphany, i.e. 6 January (Baynes, 1911, 224), Easter (Wagner), which in 368 fell on 20 April, or even Whit Sunday, i.e. 8 June (Hoffmann, 1969–1970, II, 149 n. 293: “Ostern... oder allenfalls noch Pfingsten”)? Cf. Lorenz, 1997, 98 and Drinkwater, 2007, 286. Since the expedition for which Valentinian was preparing started in the spring (§ 6 *anni tempore iam tepente*, q.v.), Easter seems the most likely. This would explain why Rando and his men had free play to plunder the city, since the Christian citizens would have been in church for the Easter vigil or the Easter service. A similar situation is reported in 28.6.27, where Palladius takes advantage of the absence of his guards to commit suicide: *observata custodum absentia, qui festo die Christiani ritus in ecclesia pernoctabant*. The story suggests that a considerable number of people in Mogontiacum had converted to Christianity; see for the Christian community in Mogontiacum Mullen, 2004, 226. A similar incident, to be dated to 406/407 (cf. Hadr. Valesius ad loc.; Boppert, 2001, 387–388 and Drinkwater, 2007, 321),

is reported in Hier. *epist.* 123.15 *Mogontiacus, nobilis quondam civitas, capta atque subversa est et in ecclesia multa hominum milia trucidata.*

Christianus ritus is Amm.'s preferred designation for the Christian religion; see the note ad 22.10.7. Amm. uses *sollemnis* and its derivatives also for pagan religious ceremonies, cf. 19.1.11 *in sollemnibus Adonidis sacris*; 23.3.7 *sacrorum sollemnitate prisco more completa* (Magna Mater).

impraepedite cuiusce modi fortunae virile et muliebre secus cum supellectili non parva indefensum abduxit For *impraepedite*, which occurs only in Amm., see the note ad 26.6.11. The indefinite *cuiusce modi* 'of every conceivable kind', written either as one or as two words, is found from Gellius onwards. The only other instance in the Teubner edition is 31.15.10 *cuiusce modi tela*. In 30.4.21 for some obscure reason Seyfarth preferred Gelenius' *cuiusque modi fortunae* instead of V's *cuiusce* -. *Fortuna* here means 'class', as in 14.3.3 *magna promiscuae fortunae convenit multitudo* and 26.10.9 *sine discrimine ullo aetatum et dignitatum per fortunas omnes et ordines* (q.v.). The phrase *virile et muliebre secus* is found in Roman historians since Sis. *hist.* 80. Amm. uses it also in 18.8.13 and 29.6.8.

Rando's raid is a clear indication of the fact that slavery in antiquity was not unilateral. For the Romans of imperial times the barbarians beyond the frontiers were the main source of slaves, but the barbarians themselves also made slaves. The inhabitants of Mogontiacus who were taken prisoner in 368 shared the fate of other Roman citizens during Valentinian's reign, for this emperor issued, presumably in 366 (cf. Pergami, 1993, 332), a law *de postliminio* (*Cod. Theod.* 5.7.1) which began as follows: *Si quos forte necessitas captivitatis abduxit, sciant, si non transierunt, sed hostilis inruptionis necessitate transducti sunt, ad proprias terras festinare debere recepturos iure postliminii ea, quae in agris vel mancipiis ante tenuerunt* ("If any persons have been led away under the compulsion of captivity, they shall know that if they did not desert to the enemy but were carried away by the force of a hostile invasion, they must hasten to their own lands, and they shall recover by right of postliminium the property in either fields or slaves which they had formerly held", tr. Pharr). The law was addressed to a *dux* Severianus, perhaps to be identified with the *comes* of that name whom we met in 27.1.2, 4 (q.v.).

Parvo inde post intervallo inopina rei Romanae spes laetiorum affulsit I.e. after Rando's raid on Mainz but before the actual start of Valentinian's campaign (cf. *anni tempore iam tepente Valentinianus...Rhenum transiit* in § 6). This is the only temporal adjunct with the abl. *mensurae intervallo*

in the *Res Gestae*, but the expression occurs in classical texts like Cic. *Clu.* 177 *satis longo intervallo post* and Liv. 25.11.7 *modicoque post intervallo*. For the adjective *inopinus* see the note ad 20.8.8 *cuius iracundiae*. The verb *affulgere* is used sensu proprio of the sun, as in 18.6.22 *cum sol tertius affulsisset*, but much more often metaphorically when events take a favourable turn, e.g. 15.8.21 (*plebs universa*) *salutarem quendam genium affulsisse conclamatis negotiis arbitrata* (which refers to the *adventus* of Julian in Vienna, pace TLL I 1248.3–4); 16.5.14 *ob quae tamquam solem sibi serenum post squalentes tenebras affulsisse* (sc. *Iulianum*) *cum alacritate et tri-pudiis laetabantur*, 19.10.3 *ni fortuna affulserit laetior*, and 24.2.21 *salutarem genium affulsisse sibi clamitans Caesarem* (q.v.). This metaphorical use is already evident in Hor. *Carm.* 4.5.6–8, where the verb appears for the first time, *instar veris enim vultus ubi tuus / affulsit populo, gratior it dies / et soles melius nitent*. This high-flown introduction to the rather sordid affair of Vithicabius' elimination is reminiscent of the way in which Amm. treats the arrest of Vadomarius in 21.3–4. Julian feared that Vadomarius' hostile actions would cause great danger (*Iulianus in exitiale malum eruptura considerans*, 21.4.1) and Amm. even calls him *immanissimus homo* in 21.4.6.

cum enim Vithicabius rex, Vadomarii filius, specie quidem molliculus et morbosus, sed audax fortis ardores in nos saepe succenderet bellicos Unlike the Alamanic king Vadomarius, who is mentioned several times by Amm., inter alia in 21.3.1 (q.v.) and 26.8.2 (q.v.), Vithicabius (*PLRE* I, Vithicabius) appears only twice in the *Res Gestae*, here and in 30.7.7. In contrast to his father, who, after having been an enemy, chose the Roman side and served as an officer in Roman service, the son remained hostile to the Romans till his death. The only other author who refers to Vadomarius' son, albeit without mentioning his name, is Eunapius. In *fr.* 19 he relates that the boy had been given as a hostage to Julian, but was soon returned to his father. The rare adjective *molliculus* is found as a term of endearment in Pl. *Poen.* 367 *meus molliculus caseus*, 'my soft little cheese'. It has the connotation of naughtiness in Catul. 16.8 (versiculi) *si sunt molliculi ac parum pudici*. Blomgren predictably defended the asyndeton bimembre *audax fortis*, but in view of 31.10.10 *inter complures alios audaces et fortes* and on account of the cursus Gelenius' *audax et fortis* is preferable. *Audax* is obviously the opposite of *molliculus*, and therefore *fortis*, as the opposite of *morbosus* denotes here physical strength rather than courage. *Succendere ardores*, 'to arouse enmity', is found only in Amm., here and in 25.4.23 *sciant docente veritate perspicue non Iulianum,*

sed Constantinum ardores Parthicos succendisse. The phrase *bellicus ardor* may have been borrowed from Stat. *Theb.* 7.422–423 *haec audit Pelopea phalanx, sed bellicus ardor / consiliis obstat divum prohibetque timeri.*

opera navabatur impensor, ut qualibet concideret strage Amm. uses the expression *operam navare* more often in the context of underhand dealings, such as the execution of Silvanus, 15.5.19 *diligens enim opera navabatur extinguere Silvanum* and the murder of Julian's newly born son, 16.10.19 *tanta tamque diligens opera navabatur, ne fortissimi viri suboles appareret.* There is a note on *impensus* ad 20.8.1. All translators interpret the phrase *quacumque strage* as an equivalent of *quocumque modo*, but since *strages* invariably refers to the killing of several victims, it seems better to translate 'at whatever cost (in human lives)'.

et quia temptatus aliquotiens nullo genere potuit superari vel prodi For *temptare* with human object cf. 24.2.9 *quibus per colloquia saepe temptatis*; 31.6.3 *temptati missilium iactibus raris.* Amm. uses the phrase *nullo genere* again in 31.5.10 *qui comprehendere nullo genere potuit.* It is attested for the first time in Sen. *Ep.* 30.4 *nullo genere homines mollius moriuntur*, and remains comparatively rare; TLL VI 1905.57–62. The alternative *superari vel prodi* is also found in 27.12.12 *castris, quae ceperat superata vel prodita*, q.v.; cf. Suet. *Vit.* 15.2 *ubique aut superatus aut proditus.* It corresponds to the phrase *clam, quia non potuit aperte* in 30.7.7 quoted at the end of the following note. 10.4

fraude ceterioris vitae ministri studio sollicitante nostrorum occubuit, cuius post necem aliquatenus hostiles torpuere discursus The expression *ceterior vita* is found only in Amm. TLL III 1195.58–64 rightly rejects the distinction made by Wagner ad 14.1.7 (and followed by De Jonge) between the meaning "vita privata" in 14.1.7, 25.4.3 and 27.10.4, and "vita ante acta" in 16.10.11 and 28.4.2. In all cases private life is meant. V's *sollicitate* has been emended to *sollicitante* in EAG, which results in an abl. abs. with the abstractum *studium* as Agens, as in Claud. *VI Cons. Hon. pr.* 11 *me quoque Musarum studium sub nocte silenti / artibus adsuetis sollicitare solet.* Petschenig proposed to read *sollicitati* agreeing with *ministri*, in which case the perfect participle would be slightly more regular than the present *sollicitante*. There is little to choose between the two. For the meaning of the verb see the note ad 27.12.2 *et primo*. For *torpe(sce)re*, "grow slack" (OLD 4b) cf. Plin. *Pan.* 18.3 *torpere militaria studia.* Amm.'s words imply that the region near modern Basle, where the people of Vadomarius and Vithicabius lived (cf. the relevant notes ad 20.10.3 and

21.3.1), remained quiet for a while. Consequently, we may assume that during his expedition of 368 Valentinian left this area undisturbed. In 30.7.7 Amm. harks back to Vithicabius' deeds and his death: *Vithicabium regem Alamannorum, Vadomario genitum, adolescentem in flore primo genarum, nationes ad tumultus cientem et bella, clam, quia non potuit aperte, confodit.*

interfector tamen prae metu poenarum, quas verebatur, si patuisset negotium, ad Romanum solum se celeri transtulit gradu For *interfector*, 'assassin', see the note ad 25.1.3 *cum germani*. The phrase *Romanum solum* is found seven times in the HA. The first instance is Liv. 7.40.6 *si meminisse vultis non vos in Samnio nec in Volscis, sed in Romano solo castra habere*. Amm. uses it also in 17.8.3 (Francos) *ausos olim in Romano solo apud Toxandriam locum habitacula sibi figere praelicenter*. For expressions with *gradu* see the note ad 20.4.12 *alacri gradu*.

- 10.5 *Parabatur post haec lentioribus curis et per copias multiformes in Alamannos expeditio solitis gravior destinatius id publica tutela poscente* Cornelissen, 1886, 289, followed by Hauser, 1954, 18 n. 66, proposed to read *intentionioribus curis*, which certainly deserves to be mentioned in the app. crit., as there is no parallel for *lenta cura* apart from Sil. 13.459–461 *sed lenta meorum / dum vanos ritus cura et sollemnia vulgi / exsequitur*, where *lentus* has the negative connotation 'slow to act'. Cf. the note ad 27.12.5 *ut Artogerassam intentiore cura excinderent*, in which parallels from Livy and Curtius Rufus are listed. Note the almost Tacitean variatio of the abl. modi and the prepositional phrase, in which *multiformis* (like *multiplex*) is typical of Amm.'s lexical idiom, as well as the following *solitis* (or *solito*) with comparative, for which see De Jonge's note ad 14.6.9, and *destinatius*, 'urgently', which is all Amm.'s own; TLL V 1.761.59–63. The same applies to *publica tutela*, 'the protection of the state'. It is the prime responsibility of the emperor, expressed in similar terms in Vell. 2.105.3 *pietas sua Caesarem paene obstructis hieme Alpibus in urbem traxit*; *tutela imperii eum veris initio reduxit in Germaniam*, and Plin. *Ep. Tra.* 10.102 *in te tutela generis humani felicissima successione translata est*.

Valentinian's actual campaign started presumably in the summer of 368 after Rando's raid on Mainz and the assassination of Vithicabius (*post haec*), but the decision to begin an offensive war against the Alamans in person was no doubt taken earlier. The successes of Iovinus in 366, described in 27.2, had lessened the barbarian pressure on Gaul for the moment, but the danger that threatened from the side of the Alamans had not been stamped out definitively, as Amm.'s

words in 27.2.11 imply: *praeter haec alia multa narratu minus digna conserta sunt proelia per tractus varios Galliarum, quae superfluum est explicare* (for the possibility that Amm. here also refers to Franks see the note ad loc.). The next year Valentinian's illness (27.6.1) and Gratian's accession to the throne prevented any real action on the Rhine, but earlier in 367 the emperor had issued some laws concerning the increase of the army (*Cod. Theod.* 7.1.10, of 14 February 367) and the regulation of recruitment (*Cod. Theod.* 7.13.3–4, of 27 April 367); Tomlin, 1973, 154. Zosimus (4.12.1, cf. Paschoud's note 126) also speaks of heavy recruitment with respect to the defense of Gaul. Amm. himself states in 30.7.6 that Valentinian was inter alia dreaded by the Alamans *quod auxit... exercitus valido supplemento*. Hoffmann, 1969–1970, I, 165–168 (cf. Lorenz, 1997, 93–94) suggests that among Valentinian's new barbarian soldiers were contingents of Bucinobantes, Raetiovarii, Angrivarii, Falchovarii, Bructeri and Amsivarii, and that the *auxilia* of Gratianenses and Valentinianenses (both *seniores* and *iuniores*) and of Raeti, Sequani, Latini and Sabini (all these troops are listed in the *Notitia Dignitatum*) may have been levied as well during this time.

According to Amm. (the comparative in *solitis gravior* should be taken in its strict sense), the campaign by Valentinian in 368 surpassed in seriousness the many expeditions against the Alamans of the past, those of 354 (14.10.1), 355 (15.4.1), 356 (16.2.1), 357 (16.11.1, 16.12.1, 17.1.2), 357/358 (17.6.1–2), 358 (17.10.1), 359 (18.2.1) and 361 (21.3.2–3, 21.3.7). Drinkwater rejects Amm.'s view. He argues that “the threat to the Rhine frontier, and the measures that Valentinian took to counter it, may be interpreted as less important than has traditionally been accepted”, that the campaign of 368 “was undertaken for political, not military, purposes”, viz. “to prove his reputation as a general, and to establish his new dynasty”, and that “because Ammianus was fundamentally uninterested in Valentinian, he did not do as good a job of work as he might have done... In dealing with the main, military activities of Valentinian, Ammianus drew heavily on official propaganda, consisting of dispatches, panegyrics and, perhaps, even paintings. These would show the ruler in a good light” (1999, 130–131; cf. Drinkwater, 1999a, 447 and 2007, 295–296). An ingenious theory, but not very convincing. Although it is difficult to assess the importance of Valentinian's campaign compared to those of his predecessors, it seems hard to deny that the Alamannic threat in the first years of Valentinian's reign was real, witness the defeats of Severianus and Charietto. Moreover, Amm. was

not uncritical of Valentinian's generalship, as is argued in the note ad 27.10.10 *quo ita*.

quoniam reparabilis gentis motus timebantur infidi Cf. 28.5.9 *immanis enim natio iam inde ab incunabulis primis varietate casuum imminuta ita saepius adolescit, ut fuisse longis saeculis aestimetur intacta*. In classical authors the adjective *reparabilis* is used almost without exception in its passive sense 'retrievable'. In Amm. it is used with active force, 'able to recover', here of the Alamans, in 31.7.12 of the Goths *barbarique ut reparabiles semper et celeres*. It evokes the Hydra: Mart. 9.101.9 (Hercules) *fecundam vetuit reparari mortibus Hydram* or the Phoenix, called *reparabilis ales* in Auson. *Ecl.* 22.6 Green. The adjective conveys the frustration felt by the Romans in dealing with an enemy of whom Tacitus had already said in *Germ.* 37.5 *triumphati magis quam victi sunt*. When used of abstract nouns like *motus*, *infidus* means 'treacherous', 'undependable', as in Tac. *Ann.* 12.31.2 *ne... infida pax non duci, non militi requiem permetteret* and Vell. 1.12.6 *ita per annos CXV aut bellum inter eos populos (Rome and Carthage) aut belli praeparatio aut infida pax fuit*. For *motus* see the notes ad 21.15.1 and 27.5.2. Cf. also 28.5.8 (Valentinianus) *circumspiciens, quibus commentis Alamannorum et Macriani regis frangeret fastus sine fine vel modo rem Romanam irrequietis motibus confundentes*.

milite nihilo minus accenso, cui ob suspectos eorum mores nunc infimorum et supplicum, paulo post ultima minitantium nullae quiescendi dabantur induitiae The second reason for the campaign against the Alamans, the anger of the soldiers, is just as important (*nihilo minus*) as the first. The unpredictable behaviour of the Alamans which fluctuated between over-confidence and servility is a recurrent motive in the description of this nation. When they first enter the stage, in 14.10.14, Constantius informs his soldiers that they are begging for peace – *summissis cervicibus concessionem praeteritorum poscunt et pacem* –, but in the same section he warns the troops of their fierce arrogance – *ferociae flatus perniciosos saepe provinciis*. In 17.1.3 Amm. had given a striking example of Alamannic fickleness: *simulata pacis petitione... misere legatos cum verbis compositis, quae denuntiarent concordem foederum firmitatem; incertumque quo consilio... mutata voluntate per alios cursu celeri venire compulsos acerrimum nostris minati sunt bellum, ni eorum regionibus excessissent*. Even after the crushing defeat at Argentoratum they did not climb down, 17.8.1 *ad insaniam post Argentoratum audaces*. For the connotation of *infimus* and its derivatives cf. 17.13.12 *fastu vitae prioris abolito ad infimitatem obsequiorum venere servilium. Quiescendi... induitiae*

is short for *copia quiescendi per indutias*. For the full expression cf. 27.9.7 *cum eis nec quiescendi nec inveniendi ad victum utilia copia laxaretur, per indutias pacem sibi tribui poposcerunt*.

Contracta igitur undique mole maxima catervarum armis et subsidiis rei cibariae diligenter instructa Before a campaign could start, the army had to be assembled and supplies collected. If this was not done properly, things were in a pretty pickle, as the events of 354 had shown, when Constantius had to postpone his campaign against the Alamans because the transport of supplies was delayed. His soldiers became very angry: *miles... apud Cabyllona collectus morarum impatiens saeviebat hoc irritatio, quod nec subsidia vivendi suppetere alimentis nondum ex usu translatis* (14.10.3). In 359 Julian had granaries built, in which grain from Britain could be stored: *anni tempore opportuno ad expeditionem undique milite convocato profectus id inter potissima mature duxit implendum, ut... horrea... exstrueret... ubi condi possit annona a Britannis sueta transferri* (18.2.3). More texts on assembling troops can be found in Elton, 1996, 235 n. 3. For *moles* with genitive cf. the note ad 21.3.3 *urgente*. In the note ad 26.8.4 *Lupicinum* it is argued that Amm. uses *caterva* as a non-technical term, which emphasizes the sheer number of the warriors. The participle *instructa* is used attributively with the Head of the abl. abs. *contracta mole*. The first instance of *res cibaria* is Pl. *Capt.* 901 *mihi rem summam credidit cibariam*. The genitive is explicative. Cf. 23.3.6 *re cibaria*. Elsewhere Amm. writes *multiplicisque rei cibariae copias* (21.6.6), *rei cibariae copiam* (29.5.13).

accitque Sebastiano comite cum Illyricis et Italicis numeris, quos regebat Sebastianus (*PLRE* I, Sebastianus 2) was an experienced general, highly esteemed by Amm.; see the note ad 23.3.5 *Sebastiano*. In this chapter he is mentioned again in § 10 and 15. For his function see the note ad 20.4.18 *postea comes*, for *numeri* ad 27.8.7 *unde cum*. “*Illyricis et Italicis* bezeichnet lediglich den Stationierungsraum der Verbände und erlaubt deshalb weder Rückschlüsse auf die Herkunft der Mannschaftebestände noch auf den individuellen Namen der Truppeneinheiten” (Hoffmann, 1969–1970, II, 178 n. 19).

anni tempore iam tepente I.e. ‘in spring’. The expression is a hapax, but the connection between *tepere* with its derivatives and the vernal season is evident. Cf. e.g. Catul. 46.1 *iam ver egelidos refert tepores*; Cic. *Tusc.* 5.37 *alia semper virent, alia hieme nudata verno tempore tepefacta frondescunt*; Ov. *Ars* 3.185–186 *cum vere tepenti / vitis agit gemmas* (buds) *pigraque fugit hiemps*;

Curt. 4.7.17 *caeli quoque mira temperies, verno tepori maxime similis*; Sen. *Thy.* 848–849 *hic qui nondum vere benigno / reddit zephyro vela tepenti*. In 15.10.4 Seyfarth printed Damsté’s conjecture *verno tepore* for V’s *verno tempore*, probably correctly in view of the following *flatu calidiore ventorum*. This indication of time is in contradiction with Amm.’s statement in 17.8.1 that military operations in Gaul usually start in July: *Caesar hiemem apud Parisios agens Alamannos praevenire studio maturabat... opperiensque Iulium mensem, unde sumunt Gallicani procinctus exordia*. That is probably the reason why most scholars seem to think that the phrase should not be taken too strictly; Rolfe translates “as soon as the warm season began”. Some of them opt for June (e.g. Nagl, 1948, 2173), others for August (e.g. Seeck, 1919, 234). Perhaps July, proposed among others by Tomlin, 1973, 182 n. 49, is more likely, in view of 17.8.1 (cf. Elton, 1996, 236; Lorenz, 1997, 99–100; Drinkwater, 2007, 285–286).

Valentinianus cum Gratiano Rhenum transiit visoque nemine divisus agminibus quadratis ipse medius incedebat Valentinian lost no time in fulfilling the promise he had made in August 367. At that time he had stated, in his speech to the soldiers at Gratian’s accession to the imperial throne, that although his son was not yet able to endure the dust of Mars (*nec capacem adhuc Martii pulveris*, 27.6.8), he would acquire experience of military life and its hardships in the near future (*in pulchra facinora procursabit signis militaribus et aquilis adhaesurus; solem nivesque et pruinas et sitim perferet et vigilias*, 27.6.9). Less than a year later father and son crossed the Rhine. Of course, Gratian was only nine years of age: *aetas erat etiamtum proeliorum impatiens et laborum* (27.10.10).

The text is badly damaged in this section. All editors have emended V’s *inhenum* to *Rhenum*, despite the indignant protest of Gronovius, who could not believe that any copyist would mangle such a well known name, and therefore proposed to read *Menum* (the Main) instead. Still, every invasion of Alamannic territory (see the list of the expeditions mentioned by Amm. in the note ad 27.10.5 *Parabatur*) begins with crossing the Rhine, just as every attack on the Goths means crossing the Danube. Moreover, the river Menus is mentioned just once in the *Res Gestae*, in 17.1.6 *trans flumen nomine Menum*, where the addition *nomine* is a sign that the name was unfamiliar. Therefore, if Valentinian had indeed started his invasion by crossing the Menus, Amm. would in all probability have paid some attention to such an unusual opening move. Where the crossing took place is a moot point. Seeck, 1920–1923^{2–4}, V, 24 and 433 situates it near Worms (he is hesitatingly followed by e.g.

Schmidt, 1940², 266 and Drinkwater, 2007, 287), others (e.g. Gerland, 1930, 115; Demandt, 2007², 140 n. 37) near Mainz. In view of the fact that Mogontiacus is mentioned in Amm.'s text a little earlier and that Julian had crossed the Rhine there in 357 (17.1.2), the latter suggestion seems preferable, but remains hypothetical. The only thing we know for sure is that the emperor started his campaign from Trier (see above, ad § 1). How he reached the other side of the river is less uncertain. Symmachus, who in *Or.* 2.26 refers to Valentinian's crossing of the Rhine, says that it was by way of 'ships which were joined together so as to make a path' (*semitae in morem nexa navigia*), in other words, by a floating bridge.

Among the various emendations proposed for V's *transitibusque neminem divisus* Gronovius' *transiit visoque nemine*, printed by Seyfarth, suits the context well, but *viso nemine* is unparalleled. More importantly, in comparable situations Amm. always uses the verb *resistere*, e.g. 16.12.15 *imperatore terras eorum ingresso nec resistere ausi nec apparere*; 21.10.2 *Succos nemine auso resistere praesidiis occupavit*; 27.5.2 *flumen transgressus est Histrum resistentibus nullis*. For that reason Valesius' *transgressus resistente nemine* seems preferable. The cautious behaviour of Valentinian is reminiscent of Julian, who upon entering Persian territory *ne per locorum insolentiam insidiis caperetur occultis, agminibus incedere quadratis exorsus est* (24.1.2). Seager, 1999, 595 pointed also to parallels with Iovinus' prudent tactics as described in 27.2.8 *ductor egregius in agminis quadrati figuram producto exercitu*.

Iovino et Severo, magistris rei castrensis, altrinsecus ordinum latera servantibus, ne repentino invaderentur assultu In 25.3.2 Amm. uses the standard expression *latera tegere* instead of *latera servare*, which seems to be without parallel. For *assultus* see the note ad 20.8.10 *contiguus assultibus*. Both generals, the *magister equitum* Iovinus and the former *comes domesticorum*, now *magister peditum*, Severus, had served in Britain, before the elder Theodosius had been given the task to suppress the 'barbarian conspiracy' there (27.8.2–3, q.v.). The expression *magistri rei castrensis* is a variation on *equestris pedestrisque militiae magistri*, which Amm. uses in 21.13.3.

protinusque inde ductantibus itinerum callidis exploratis accessibus per regiones longo situ porrectas sensim gradiens miles After crossing the border Valentinian followed the lead of men who knew the roads into the interior, just as Julian had done during his campaign against the Alamanni, 16.2.3 *habita itaque deliberatione assistantibus locorum peritis, quodnam iter eligeretur ut*

tutum. As we saw, it is disputed where Valentinian crossed the Rhine and consequently the emperor's line of march has been the object of various theories (as was the location of Solicinum, § 8, q.v.). As Drinkwater, 1999a, 448 notes: "from Ammianus' account it is difficult to determine whether the main thrust of the Roman attack on the Alamanni was north or south of the Main".

Again Amm. uses a unique phrase: *itinerum callidi*, which can only be compared to 15.10.5 *locorum callidi*. For V's *longo nitu porrectas* Seyfarth prints Oudendorp's (not Freinsheim's) *longo situ porrectas*, which is almost an insult to Amm., since in that expression, which is found in Colum. 3.11 (vineta) *quae longo situ exoleverunt*, and Sen. Nat. 6.27.2 (aer) *cum e longo situ emissus est, purum hunc liquidumque maculat ac polluit*, the noun *situs* means 'decay'. Cornelissen's *tractu* is much better, in view of parallels like Mela 3.16 (Gallia) *ad septentriones conversa iterum longo rectoque tractu ad ripas Rheni amnis expanditur*; Plin. Nat. 2.162 *Alpium vertex longo tractu nec brevior quinquaginta milium passuum adsurgere*. Alternatively, one might consider *in longitudinem porrectas*; cf. Liv. 25.21.6 *in longitudinem porrecta acies*. *Sensim* emphasizes the caution with which the army proceeds, as in 24.1.2 (q.v.).

irritatior ad pugnandum velut repertis barbaris minaciter infrendebat For *irritare*, 'to stimulate, make eager', cf. Liv. 10.27.6 *irritati sunt ad iustum certamen animi*. It is definitely used in a positive sense in Sen. Ep. 9.17 *ad amicitiam fert illum nulla utilitas sua, sed naturalis irritatio* and in the pedagogic advice of Quint. Inst. 1.1.26 *irritandae ad discendum infantiae gratia* 'in order to stimulate children to learn'. The gnashing of the teeth as a sign of anger is found also in 16.12.13 *stridore dentium infrendentes ardoremque pugnandi hastis illidendo scuta monstrantes in hostem se duci iam conspicuum exorabant*. The soldiers show their eagerness for battle even before they have actually seen the enemy. The expression probably harks back to Vergil, who writes *dentibus infrendens* in A. 3.664, 8.230 and 10.715.

et quoniam aliquot diebus emensis nullus potuit, qui resisteret, inveniri For *emen-*
sus see the end of the note ad 27.5.5 *Anno secuto*. The remarkable hyperbaton of *inveniri* creates a *cursus velox*, whereas *qui resisteret* at the end of the colon would have been unmetrical.

cuncta satorum et tectorum, quae visebantur, iniecta cohortium manu vorax flamma vastabat praeter alimenta, quae colligi dubius rerum eventus adigebat et custodiri
For the combination of a neuter adjective or participle with a noun

in the genitive see the note ad 20.5.5 *fluminis*, and cf. Tac. *Hist.* 5.10.1 *cuncta camporum omnesque praeter Hierosolyma urbes*. At first glance one is tempted to interpret *iniecta manu* as an abl. abs., but the expression *manum inicere* (or *iniectare*) ‘to lay hands on’, ‘to claim’, which is found in 14.11.12, 18.6.2, 26.4.6 and 27.12.1, does not suit the present context. The soldiers do not claim the crops and the houses, they want to lay waste to them. The gen. *cohortium*, moreover, would not make sense in this interpretation. Alternatively, *inicere* might be taken to mean ‘to send in’, as in Plin. *Nat.* 8.218 *iniciunt eas* (sc. ferrets) *in specus*, but in that case one would expect an adjunct expressing direction. It seems preferable therefore to take *iniecta* as a nominative with *flamma*, as in 25.2.6 (about comets) *radiorum flammās iniectas nubibus*, cf. Liv. 35.11.5 *nihil prius quam flammam tectis iniecturum, ut is pavor cogeret Ligures excedere saltu quem obsiderent* and Curt. 4.10.12 *fugientes raptim tectis acervisque frumenti iniecerant flammās*. Setting fire to crops and houses is a regular part of warfare, Liv. 31.30.3 *sata exuri, dirui tecta, praedas hominum pecorumque agi misera magis quam indigna patienti esse*. It is not immediately clear either whether *manu* refers to a host of soldiers, consisting of the *cohortes* (Rolfe: “a band of the cohorts”, Marié: “une poignée de cohortes”) or should be taken to mean ‘by the hand’, sc. of the troops (Seyfarth: “so warfen die Kohorten zerstörendes Feuer”). The very concrete *iniecta* rather favours the latter interpretation. See for *cohors* the note ad 21.11.2 *addita*. *Vorax* as an attribute of fire is found already in Acc. *trag.* 484 *Scandit oras* (hawsers), *laterum texta* <*flamma*> *Vulcani vorax*.

post haec leniore gressu princeps ulterius tendens Amm. uses the poeticism *gressus* eight times, but he prefers *gradu* in expressions of this kind. See the note ad 27.10.4 *interfector*. The reason why the emperor slows down his troops is presumably that he expects the Alamans to offer resistance after the provocations by the Romans. 10.8

cum prope locum venisset, cui Solicinio nomen est, velut quadam obice stetit The name *Solicinium* (Gelenius’ reading) occurs only here and in 30.7.7, where Amm. summarizes the events described in 27.10.8–16: *Alamannis congressus* (sc. Valentinian) *prope Solicinium locum, ubi insidiis paene perierat circumventus, ad exitium ultimum delere potuit universos, ni paucos velox effugium tenebris amendasset*. The location of *Solicinium* is controversial (cf. Schönfeld, 1929). Although many scholars thought that they recognized certain places in Germany in Amm.’s description (which is our only real clue, unless one regards the resemblance to *Solicinium* of modern

place names like Sülchen as such; cf. Tomlin, 1973, 155), there is no *communis opinio*. Wagner mentions Schwetzingen near Heidelberg as a candidate for identification. Gerland, 1930 sought Solicinium at the foot of the Altkönig in the Taunus range, some twenty kilometers north-west of Frankfurt am Main. Demandt, 2007², 140 n. 37 suggests another location in modern Hessen, near the Glauberg north-east of Frankfurt. Nagl, 1948, 2173 prefers Rottenburg on the Neckar, near the Spitzberg (not far from Tübingen). Gutmann, 1991, 27 n. 119 argues in favour of Bad Urach near the Runde Berg, also in modern Baden-Württemberg (some forty kilometers east of Rottenburg). “Sicherlich ließen sich Ammians Angaben mit etwas Phantasie auch anderswo ausfindig machen” (Lorenz, 1997, 102).

Some scholars (e.g. Evelyn White ad loc. in the Loeb edition and Jouai, 1938, 63 n. 22), identify Amm.’s Solicinium with Ausonius’ Lupodunum (Lopodunum), commonly taken to be modern Ladenburg am Neckar (Talbert 12 B3; Wiegels, 1999). This town is mentioned by Ausonius in a passage of the *Mosella* (421–424) in which he alludes to triumphs of Valentinian and Gratian: *Augustae veniens...moenibus urbis / spectavit iunctos natique patrisque triumphos, / hostibus exactis Nicrum super et Lupodunum / et fontem Latius ignotum annalibus Histri*, “(the river) coming from the walls of the imperial city (i.e. Trier), has beheld the united triumphs of father and son over foes vanquished beyond Nicer and Lupodunum and Ister’s source, unknown to Latin chronicles”, tr. Evelyn White, adapted). However, the identification is, pace Green, 1997, 215, best rejected, with e.g. Sivan, 1990, 383–385 and Coşkun, 2002, 414–415 (they adduce divergent arguments): Amm. and Ausonius must refer to different campaigns (cf. further on this topic Drinkwater, 1999a and Shanzer, 1998, 205–216), Amm. to Valentinian’s expedition of 368, Ausonius to that of 369.

For the different meanings of *obex* see the note ad 25.9.3. The emperor halted (*stetit*) as if stopped by a barrier. For this meaning of *stetit* cf. 17.1.8 *cum prope silvam venisset squalore tenebrarum horrendam, stetit* and section 9 below *imperio principis et ductorum stetit regibilis miles*.

doctus procursantium relatione verissima barbaros longe conspectos Instead of the participle of *procursare* Amm. more often uses the substantive *procursator*, for which see the notes ad 23.3.4 *agmina* and 24.3.1 *procursatorum*. In § 10 (q.v.) we find, with the same meaning, *proculcatores*.

qui nullam ad tuendam salutem viam superesse cernentes, nisi se celeri defendissent occursum The pluperfect *defendissent* represents the future perfect in oratio recta and is prior to *superesse*, which is the equivalent of the future (*nulla via nobis supererit*). The noun *occursus* (“the action or fact of meeting so as to bar the way”, OLD 3) is rare. In 16.8.2 *occursu mustelae* means ‘by meeting a weasel’ and in 21.16.21 (q.v.) *ex usu crebrescebant occursus* it refers to the *adventus* ceremony.

10.9

locorum gnaritate confisi unum spirantibus animis montem occupavere praecelsum Cf. 16.2.10 *iuvante locorum gnaritate*. The same expression is found in 30.1.12. In Amm. *confisus* always takes the abl. For *unum spirantibus animis* see the note ad 24.3.4. The unanimity of Rome’s generally less well organised adversaries is signalled also in 29.5.28 *dissonas cultu et sermonum varietate nationes plurimas unum spirantibus animis immanium exordia concitare bellorum* and 31.5.13 *unum spirando vesania gentium dissonarum*.

It is by no means certain that this mountain and *mons Piri*, mentioned in 28.2.5, are one and the same, as Rolfe, Seyfarth and Marié maintain, apparently in the wake of Wagner.

per confragosos colles undique praeruptum et invium absque septemtrionali latere, unde facilem habet devexitatem et mollem For *confragosus*, ‘bouldery’, see the note ad 25.7.14 *quoniam* and cf. Fron. Str. 2.3.8 *in colle confragoso*. The evocative phrase *facilem devexitatem et mollem* is paraphrased in the next section as *clementer proclivem*.

signis ilico fixis ex more cum undique ad arma conclamaretur, imperio principis et ductorum stetit regibilis miles The expression *signa figere*, ‘to order a halt’, is very rare. The only parallel mentioned in TLL VI 1.713.35–36 is Veg. mil. 2.22.4 *Cum autem moventur signa aut iam mota figenda sunt, cornicines canunt*. The soldiers, who are spoiling for a fight (§ 7), call for immediate action, but the emperor and his generals stick to the normal procedure (*ex more*), and order them to wait for the usual signal. *Regibilis* is found only in Amm. For its meaning cf. 16.12.10 *ut enim in periculis iuventutem impigram esse convenit et audacem, ita, cum res postulat, regibilem et consultam*.

vexillum opperiens extollendum, quod erat opportune subeundae indicium pugnae Cf. 27.10.12 *signoque erecto, quod solet ad pugnam hortari* and see for *vexillum* the notes ad 20.6.3 *signo* and 24.3.1 *unum rapuisse*. Vegetius, who made a distinction between three types of military signals (voiced, semi-voiced

and mute) ranged the *vexillum* under the *muta signa* (*aquilae dracones vexilla flammulae tufae pinnae*): *quocumque enim haec ferri iusserit dux, eo necesse est signum suum comitantes milites pergant* (mil. 3.5.8). The construction of *opperior* with a gerundive occurs only in Amm., here and in 28.2.8 *danda responsa... opperiens*; TLL IX 2.748.72–73.

10.10 *ergo quia spatium deliberandi aut exiguum dabatur aut nullum, hinc impatientia militis perterrente, inde horrenda circumsonantibus Alamannis, id consilium ratio celeritatis admisit, ut arctoam montium partem, quam clementer diximus esse proclivem, Sebastianus occuparet cum suis fugientes Germanos, si fors ita tulisset, levi negotio confossurus* For the inconspicuous phrase *aut exiguum aut nullum*, ‘little or no’, cf. Liv. 42.16.2 *victurum exigua ac prope nulla spes erat*; Ov. *Ep.* 17.85 *saepe vel exiguo vel nullo murmure dixi*. The present use of *impatientia*, “nimia festinatio”, TLL VII 1.526.64–65, is very rare, but cf. Eutr. 3.10.2 (about the battle at Cannae) *cum impatientia Varronis consulis... pugnatum esset*. The description of the Celtic warriors in Liv. 38.17.3–5 gives a lively picture of what Valentinian’s men saw before their eyes: *procera corpora, promissae et rutilatae comae, vasta scuta, praelongi gladii; ad hoc cantus ineuntium proelium et ululatus et tripudia, et quatientium scuta in patrium quendam modum horrendus armorum crepitus, omnia de industria composita ad terrorem*. For *ratio celeritatis* “the regard for speedy action” (Rolfe), cf. 21.9.5 (milites) *quos ex stationibus propinquis acciri celeritatis ratio permittebat* (q.v.). There is a note ad 27.8.2 *quibus magno* about phrases of the type *si fors ita tulisset*. The expression *negotio levi* is typical of Amm.; see the note ad 20.10.2 *superavit*. The whole sentence sounds apologetic, as if better measures would have been taken had time permitted, but the order given to Sebastianus, the *comes (rei militaris)* mentioned in § 6, to occupy the northern flank of the mountain seems eminently sensible and produced the desired result.

quo ita, ut placuit, maturato Gratianoque apud signa Iovianorum retro detento, cuius aetas erat etiamtum proeliorum impatiens et laborum When presenting Gratian to the troops his father had described him as *non rigido cultu ab incunabulis ipsis ut nos educatum nec tolerantia rerum coalitum asperarum nec capacem adhuc Martii pulveris* (27.6.8). See for the legion of the Ioviani the notes ad 22.3.2 *praesentibus* and 25.5.8 *Iovianorum*.

Valentinianus ut dux cunctator et tutus centurias et manipulos capite intecto collustrans The combination of *centuriae* and *manipuli* is often coupled with *cohortes*, as in 17.13.25, 21.13.9 (q.v.) and 23.5.15. Alföldi, 1952, 6 calls

the characterization of Valentinian as *dux cunctator et tutus* “very high praise” and Tomlin, 1973, 151: thinks that it is “in a wider context... a fair assessment”. In view of what is going to happen, however, the wording must be interpreted as heavily sarcastic. *Cunctator* flatly contradicts Valentinian’s sudden disappearance without informing his officers of his intentions. *Tutus* used of persons in Amm. elsewhere means ‘in safety’, as for instance in 24.2.17 *sub qua* (porta) *tutus et latens*. Here, however, it refers not to a condition, but to a personal quality “on one’s guard, watchful” (OLD s.v. 2a). As such it is belied by *capite intecto*. Seager, 1996 compares Valentinian’s lack of caution with two similar passages concerning Julian’s rashness during the Persian campaign (24.5.5–11 and 25.3.2–8) and observes correctly that Amm.’s “criticisms of Julian’s actions are always tempered by admiration for the emperor’s selflessness and courage”, whereas “for Valentinian’s foolhardiness he offers no mitigation” (p. 194). The same observation had been made by Paschoud, 1992, 77. In view of these considerations it serves no purpose to ask whether *cunctator et tutus* is explained by *centurias... collustrans*, as Seyfarth suggests in n. 93 of his bilingual edition, or by *capite intecto*, as Marié supposes in n. 289 (“afin de ne pas être facilement identifié”, i.e. during his reconnaissance). What counts is the glaring contrast between characterization and conduct.

It is important to realize, however, that Valentinian’s behaviour could be seen in a totally different light. If Amm.’s report of this campaign is indeed based on an official *relatio*, as Sabbah 209 plausibly argues, some of the reported facts will have been intended to portray the emperor as a prudent and courageous leader of men. The phrase *ut dux cunctator et tutus* is used with almost identical words by Constantius about himself in a speech to the troops, 14.10.14 *ut cunctator et cautus utiliumque monitor*; Julian, when entering Alamannic territory *erat providus et cunctator, quod praecipuum bonum in magnis ductoribus opem ferre solet exercitibus et salutem* (16.2.11); in 31.12.6 Victor is characterized as *Sarmata, sed cunctator et cautus*. *Cunctator et cautus* may therefore be called a standard characteristic of a good commander. Colombo aptly refers to Liv. 22.12.12, where the *magister equitum* criticizes the dictator Fabius Cunctator as being *pro cunctatore segnem, pro cauto timidum, adfingens vicina virtutibus vitia*, and Tac. *Hist.* 2.25.2 (Suetonius Paulinus) *cunctator natura et cui cauta potius consilia cum ratione quam prospera ex casu placerent*. In the present passage Amm. may have changed *cautus* to *tutus*, because in what follows the spotlight is on the emperor’s personal safety.

The same applies *mutatis mutandis* to the following detail *centurias et manipulos intecto capite collustrans*. Although the battle is imminent (*spatium deliberandi aut exiguum datur aut nullum*, § 10) the emperor takes time to inspect his army. He does so without his helmet. Various reasons can be suggested to explain this detail. On the narrative level, the information is needed to prepare the reader for the loss of the helmet which will be narrated in the next section. On the level of the underlying facts, the reason may well have been that Valentinian wished to be clearly recognizable in order to inspire confidence in his men. In this respect we may compare the action of some soldiers during the siege of Bezabde, who tried to attract the emperor's attention in this way, 20.11.12 *decernentes sub imperatoris conspectu spe praemiorum, ut possint facile, qui essent, agnoscī, nudantes galeis capita* or Germanicus' behaviour during a battle against Arminius, Tac. *Ann.* 2.21.2 *Germanicus, quo magis agnosceretur, detraxerat tegimen capiti orabatque insisterent caedibus*. Moreover, not wearing a helmet is often presented as a sign of outstanding bravery, e.g. in Tac. *Ann.* 3.41.3 *spectatus et Sacrovir intecto capite pugnam pro Romanis ciens, ostentandae, ut ferebat, virtutis* and 13.35.4 *ipse (Corbulo) cultu levi, capite intecto, in agmine, in laboribus frequens adesse, laudem strenuis, solacium invalidis, exemplum omnibus ostendere*. Finally, the reason may have been that the emperor wanted to find alternative routes to attack before joining battle. In this respect a particularly striking parallel is offered by the future emperor Titus, who also almost lost his life during a skirmish, without wearing his helmet because he had gone out to reconnoitre the terrain: Heges. 5.4.1 *intecto capite nudus cetera, utpote qui in excursu processerat non ad bellum paratus, nec galeam neque lorica induerat*. Whatever Valentinian's real motive was for not wearing his helmet, the reader is left with the impression that the emperor risked his life as a consequence of an extremely ill-considered decision.

For *collustrare*, 'to survey a wide space', see the note ad 20.11.5 *moenia*.

nullo potentium in conscientiam arcani adhibito remota multitudine stipatorum speculatum radices aggerum avolvit cum paucis, quorum industriam norat et fidem The *potentes* are those who belong to the emperor's suite, as in 16.8.11 *potentes in regia*, 28.6.17 *ei tamquam potenti et palatii summatibus proximo* and 30.4.1 *ne...frangeretur potentium tumor*. For the supine in Amm. see De Jonge ad 14.6.12 and 14.11.4.

praedicans, ut erat sui arrogans aestimator, invenire posse aliam viam ducentem ad arduos clivos praeter eam, quam inspexere proculcatores This is an openly hostile characterization of Valentinian. For *praedicare* see the note ad 21.7.1 *subinde*. The phrase *aestimator sui* is found in Curt. 8.1.22 *rex cum multo incaluisset mero, immodicus aestimator sui celebrare, quae gesserat, coepit*; Sen. *De ira* 3.5.7 *ille ingens animus et verus aestimator sui*; Quint. *Decl.* 252.14 *Nemo est tam arrogans sui aestimator, ut* etc. Gelenius proposed to read *pro-cursatores* instead of *proculcatores*, no doubt because the latter term is a hapax in Amm., while *procurator* occurs nine times. However, *proculcator* is preferable as the *lectio difficilior*. In TLL X 2.1565 20–27 the word is explained as follows: “significari videtur qui viam proculcat per loca ignota ducendo”. According to TLL it is found several times in *Ostrac. Bu Njem Marichal*.

per ignota itaque et palustres uligines devius tendens insidiatricis manus locatae per abdita subito oppetisset accursu The risk Valentinian takes is expressed in three ways: he is on unknown, treacherous ground far from the nearest road. Amm.’s phrasing is strikingly similar to Tac. *Ann.* 1.17.3, where veterans complain about their reward after hard years of service: *uligines paludum vel inculta montium*. Amm. has one other instance of *devius* used of persons, 29.1.27 *totus enim devius ab aequitate dilapsus*, where it means ‘straying’. For its literal meaning cf. Hor. *Carm.* 3.25.12–14 *ut mihi devio / ripas et vacuum nemus / mirari libet*. In view of 28.5.5 *occulte pedites missi insidias in abdita quadam valle struxerunt* Seyfarth was right in following Heraeus’ conjecture *abdita* for V’s *oblita*. For this meaning of *abdita* cf. 26.6.4 *ad abdita longiusque remota discessit*. There are notes on *tendere*, ‘to hasten’, ad 23.5.1, 25.4.24 *et ad* and 26.9.2 *ire tendebat*. *Insidiatrix manus* is found only in Amm., here and in 24.4.29 *fallaces foveas et obscuras... subsedisse manum insidiatricem*. For *oppetere*, ‘to die’, see the note ad 20.4.8 *iussa morte*.

10.11

ni necessitatis adiumento postremae per labilem limum incitato iumento digressus legionum se gremiis immersisset post abruptum periculum The phrase *necessitatis adiumento postremae* goes with *incitato iumento digressus*. Valentinian’s decision to set spurs to his horse (see for *iumentum*, ‘horse’, ‘mount’ the notes ad 25.5.7 *provolutus* and 25.6.9 *fatigatis*) and to run for safety was his only means to escape death. The abl. can therefore best be taken as modal or instrumental. Amm. is the only author who uses *labilis* in the sense of *lubricus*, ‘slippery’. The other instances are 15.10.5 and 22.8.48; TLL VII 2.774.9–12. See for *legio* the last part of the note ad

25.1.7 *eodem die*. It is clear from 27.10.10 that the Ioviani formed part of Valentinian's expeditionary force, but in all probability this also holds good for the Divitenses and Tungricani, mentioned in 27.1.2 as belonging to the army of the *comes (rei militaris)* Severianus when he fought against the Alamans.

Seager, 1996, 194–195 drew attention to the parallels between this episode and 19.11.10–12, where Constantius is suddenly attacked by the Limigantes and barely manages to escape on his horse with the loss of the royal seat with its golden cushion. The outcome of the two highly perilous situations is, as Seager points out, totally different. When the Roman soldiers realized the mortal danger Constantius was in, they rushed out to defend him and avenge the shame inflicted on their emperor by a furious attack on the Limigantes: 19.11.13 *audito, quod ad ultimum paene tractus exitum in abrupto staret adhuc imperator* (cf. *post abruptum periculum* in the present passage) ... *exercitus... barbarorum mori obstinatorum catervis semet immersit*. Valentinian escaped on his horse and found safety in the bosom of his legions (*legionum se gremiis immersisset*). Since these are the only two occurrences of *se immergere* in Amm., Seager seems justified in drawing attention to this correspondence, although there is a difference between an army falling on the enemy and an emperor seeking protection among his own troops; for this 16.12.37 *gremio legionum protecti* is a better parallel (about Roman cavalry failing to hold their ground during the battle of Strasbourg). Both the narrow escape of Valentinian and the failure of the cavalry are decidedly unheroic, to put it mildly. One may add that *gremium* evokes the image of a parent holding a child in his lap; cf. Constantius' dream in 21.14.1 *umbram viderat patris obtulisse pulchrum infantem eumque susceptum et locatum in gremio suo* etc. and 21.14.5 *hi genii animis conexi mortalium eas tamquam gremiis suis susceptas tuentur* with the notes. For a wealth of examples see TLL VI 2.2320.69–2321.51.

cui adeo proximus, ut galeam eius cubicularius ferens auro lapillisque distinctam cum ipso tegmine penitus interiret nec postea vivus repperiretur aut interfectus As Blomgren 74 admits, the ellipsis of *esse* as the main verb in the relative clause would be “multo durior” than the other cases of ellipsis of *esse* discussed by him on pp. 68–79. In the absence of convincing parallels it seems advisable to accept Gelenius' *fuit*, which he may well have found in the Hersfeldensis. For *cubicularius* see the note ad 20.8.4 *et cubiculariorum*. The expression *cum ipso tegmine* ‘helmet and all’ sounds like a Grecism (ἀντὶ τοῦ κράναι), but there are instances of this idiom in Latin

too; TLL VII 2.334.52–68. For *penitus interiret*, ‘disappeared without a trace’, cf. 23.6.16 (avícula) *praepedito volatu submersa penitus evanescit*.

The helmet given to Constantine by his wife Fausta is described in similar terms in *Pan.* 7.6.2: *galeam auro gemmisque radiantem et pinnis pulchrae alitis eminentem*. Splendid examples of such helmets are the Berkasovo parade helmets, found in 1955 and now in the Museum of Vojvodina in Novi Sad (Inv. AA 153–154). Cf. e.g. Schmauder, 2007, 150.

Proinde quiete reficiendis corporibus data signoque erecto, quod solet ad pugnam hortari, tubarum minacium accendente clangore fidentissimo impetu acies motas prompte ante alios praeire duo iuvenes lecti in principiis adeundi discriminis Salvius et Lupicinus, Scutarius unus, alter e schola Gentilium With *proinde* Amm. returns to the narrative of the battle at Solicinium after the account of Valentinian’s adventure in sections 10–11. For a similar use of *proinde* see the note ad 25.9.12. It is not clear whether the ablative absolutes *quiete data* and *signoque erecto* refer to the time before or after Valentinian’s adventure. The transition from one action to the next, marked by *-que*, is surprisingly abrupt. For the raising of the standard (*vexillum*) as the signal to attack cf. 27.10.9. As is noted ad 24.4.15 *clangore Martio* (q.v.), the *tuba* is ‘the instrument par excellence for the beginning and ending of battles’. See further 20.7.6 *hinc inde* and for the invention of the *tuba* Ziolkowski, 1998–1999.

10.12

In the note ad 20.8.19 *et super ordine* it is argued that in Amm. *fidenter* denotes justified confidence, whereas *confidenter* has the negative connotation of arrogance. *In principiis belli adeundi* sounds like a pleonasm, but the gerundive serves to explain that the battle had yet to begin. By contrast *in Peloponnesiaci belli principiis* (19.4.4) is said retrospectively.

According to *PLRE* I, Salvius 1, Amm.’s *Scutarius Salvius* is to be identified with the *comes domesticorum* of the same name who was killed in 408 (Zos. 5.32.4), “ce qui paraît difficile à admettre pour des raisons chronologiques” (Paschoud n. 72 ad loc.). The identification of Salvius’ colleague in the *schola Gentilium* Lupicinus (*PLRE* I, Lupicinus 3) with the *comes (rei militaris) per Thracias* of that name who figures prominently in Book 31 (31.4.9 et seq., 5.2 et seq.), is less problematic. See for the *scholae* of Scutarii and Gentiles the notes ad 20.2.5 *Gentilium Scutariorum* and ad 25.10.9 *Quibus compertis*.

bellum fragore terribili concitantes hastasque crispando, cum ad rupium obiecta venissent trudentibusque Alamannis evadere ad celsiora conantur In V *concitantes* has no object. For that reason Petschenig conjectured *bellum* and Löfstedt

proelium to follow *Gentilium*, probably explaining the loss of the object as a case of haplography. There seems to be little to choose between the two. The expression *hastas crispere*, to which Vergil's *bina manu lato crispans hastilia ferro* (A 1.313 and 12.165) has given such a familiar ring, is in fact quite rare; TLL IV 1207.68–74. There is a remarkable switch in the *cum*-clause from the pluperfect subjunctive *venissent* to the indic. *praes. conantur*. This is however not an unknown phenomenon in Amm; see the notes ad 22.1.2 *eratque ideo* and 26.7.9 *cum essent*. Gelenius' *conarentur* is a typical example of his 'classicizing' tendency. As Hagendahl, 1921, 123 correctly observes, *celsiora conarentur* is unmetrical, whereas *celsiora conantur* is a *cursus planus*. In his n. 2 on the same page Hagendahl draws attention to Sol. 32.7 *inter obiecta rupium*. See also De Jonge's note ad 14.2.6 *rupium abscisa*.

advenit omne pondus armorum isdemque antesignanis per hirta dumis et aspera magno virium nisu in editas sublimitates erepsit The irresistible impetus of the Roman army is effectively evoked by *pondus armorum*. Cf. also 14.10.14 *qui cadit in acie pondere armorum oppressus et virium*; 28.5.10 *pondus armorum vitantibus (Alamannis) insperatum*. Liv. 30.34.2 mentions it already as a decisive factor in the battle of Zama: *pugna Romana stabilis et suo et armorum pondere incumbentium in hostem, concursatio et velocitas illinc* (with the Carthaginians and their allies) *maior quam vis*. For *antesignanus* see the note ad 16.12.18 (the *antesignani* are of course Salvius and Lupicinus). The only other instance of *hirta dumis* is Stat. *Silv.* 3.1.13–14 *hirtaque dumis / saxa* ('boulders rough with scrub', tr. Mozley). The literal meaning of *sublimitas* is rare; cf. 19.5.4 *turris fuit in sublimitatem exurgens*. For *erepere* 'scramble upwards' see TLL V 2. 749.20–33.

- 10.13** *acri igitur partium spiritu conflictus cuspidibus temptatur infestis et hinc arte belli doctior miles, inde licet feroces, sed incauti barbari dexteris coiere collatis* For *partes*, 'the warring parties', see the note ad 25.1.3 *Et cum*. As TLL IV 237.31 sqq. shows, *conflictus* in the sense of *proelium* belongs to Late Latin, and *conflictum temptare* is a variation on *proelium temptare*, as in Tac. *Hist.* 3.5.2 *nec his aut illis proelium temptantibus, fortuna partium alibi transacta*. The actual fighting begins when the *cavalry* throw their spears. The expression Amm. chooses for this stage, for which cf. 27.1.3 *visos eminus barbaros Romani sagittis aliisque levibus iaculis incessabant*, is probably borrowed from Liv. 8.7.9 *cum infestis cuspidibus concurrissent*, as Bitter, 1976, 144 n. 443 notes (also in 10.36.9 and 10.41.9). The second stage is the man-to-man combat, for which the traditional expressions are

pedem conferre (27.2.6) and *manus conserere* (18.8.5, 29.5.14). For the contrast between the better trained and disciplined Romans on the one hand, and the physically strong and reckless Alamans on the other cf. 16.12.47 *pares enim quodam modo coiere cum paribus, Alamanni robusti et celsiores, milites usu nimio dociles; illi feri et turbidi, hi quieti et cauti; animis isti fidentes, grandissimis illi corporibus freti*. The reading *coire* in V (also in Gelenius) is retained by Marié, but rejected by Clarke, Rolfe and Seyfarth in favour of *coiere*, rightly so in view of the rarity of the historical infinitive in Amm. for which see Den Boeft, 1992, 16–17. For a detailed discussion of this phenomenon see Colombo's *Prolegomena* 76–79.

quos latius sese pandens exercitus infusus utrimque cornibus afflictabat per fremitus territos et equorum hinnitus et tubas The same encircling manoeuvre is described in 20.11.21 *latiusque se pandente manu Romana* (q.v.). For medio-passive *infundi* in the sense of 'to enter', 'to penetrate', see TLL VII 1.1506.70–1507.3, where Szantyr supplies 'aciei' (sc. Alamannorum) as the suppressed complement of the verb. The Roman wings penetrate the battle line of their opponents on both sides in a pincer movement; cf. 17.13.9 *equites...equitum se turmis...infuderunt* and Ambr. *obit. Theod.* 53 *infusus Romano imperio barbaris*. For *afflictare*, 'to harass' (OLD 1b), cf. 31.7.15 *partes semet altrinsecus afflictabant*. See the introductory note ad 25.1.18 about the importance of the din of battle in Amm.'s descriptions of military encounters.

nihilominus tamen ipsi assumpta fiducia restiterunt aequataque parumper proeliorum sorte haud parva mole certatum est, dum ruinarum funeribus mutuis res gerebatur The Alamans are temporarily taken aback, but pull themselves together and put up a stout resistance. In this respect the battle at Solicinium resembles the one near Châlons-en-Champagne described in 27.2.6 *sueta* (or rather *insueta*) *vexillorum splendentium facie territi steterere Germani. quibus hebetatis parumper reparatisque confestim ad usque diei extimum concertatione protenta* etc. Also, the 'evenly balanced battle' is a recurrent motive in Amm.'s battle scenes, e.g. 24.2.14 *neutrubi inclinato momento proelium atrox a lucis ortu ad initium noctis destinatione magna protractum*. On the various shades of meaning of *moles* in Amm. see the note ad 20.6.5 *fervente*. The periphrasis *ruinarum funeribus mutuis*, 'the dead fallen on both sides', is, if possible, even more contrived than 24.6.15 *Post timorem depositum calcatasque ruinas hostilium corporum*. 10.14

10.15 *disiecti denique Romanorum ardore metuque turbati miscentur ultimis primi, dumque in pedes versi discedunt, verrutis hostilibus forabantur et pilis* As Bitter, 1976, 151 n. 472 observes, *ardor* or its derivatives “fehlen in keinem Kampfbericht, da er (Amm.) sie als grundlegenden Antrieb menschlichen Handelns betrachtet.” When the first line of the Alamanni gives way, the barbarians turn in on themselves. There was a similar crisis during the battle of Strasbourg when the Roman cavalry suddenly took to flight, 16.12.37 *incondite discesserunt, dumque primi fugientium postremos impediunt* etc. For *verti in pedes* cf. 27.2.3 *quos versos* (q.v.). Veg. *mil.* 2.15.4 distinguishes the long and heavy spear *quod pilum vocabant, nunc spiculum dicitur* from a shorter type *quod tunc vericulum, nunc verutum dicitur*. It is spelled *verrutum* here and in 19.11.11; 31.7.12; 31.10.8. In 16.12.47, however, it has its normal form *verutum*. Petschenig, 1892, 524 found fault with *hostilibus*, which is indeed completely superfluous, and proposed *hostilibus* instead. *Hostile* happens to be a very common word for a spear in other authors (above all Vergil), but in the *Res Gestae* it is found only once, for the two halves of a bow 22.8.37 *arcus omnium gentium flexis curvantur hastilibus*. Nevertheless, a comparison with similar battle descriptions suggests that *hastilibus* may be defended as a variation on the more common *missilibus*. Cf. 16.12.46 *spicula tamen verutaque missilia non cessabant*; 31.10.8 *sagittarum verutorumque missilium pulsibus crebriores hinc indeque sternebantur*. It looks as if Amm. interpreted *verutus* as an adjective, meaning ‘provided with a point in the form of a spit’, as in Grat. 110–111 *tum stricta verutis / dentibus et gemina subiere hastilia furca*. For *forare*, ‘to pierce,’ cf. 27.2.3 *quocirca forati pilis et gladiis cecidere complures*.

postremo dum anhelī currunt et fessi, pandebant sequentibus poplites et suras et dorsa For *pandere*, ‘to show’, ‘to expose’, see TLL X 1.198.18–57. There is a similar scene after the battle against the Goths in 31.7.13 *sequebantur equites hinc inde fugientium occipitia lacertis ingentibus praecedentes et terga itidemque altrinsecus pedites lapsorum timore impeditorum secando suffragines*.

stratis denique multis lapsorum partem Sebastianus cum subsidiali manu locatus post montium terga trucidavit ex incauto latere circumventam; dispersi ceteri silvarum se latebris amendarunt Sebastianus has been mentioned in § 6 and 10. For *labi* in the sense of *effugere* see the note ad 24.6.13 *perrupissetque*. The adj. *subsidialis* is found only in Amm., here and in 14.6.17, 29.5.47 and 31.7.12, who uses it instead of the classical *subsidiarius*. For passive *incautus* see the note ad 23.3.5 *ex incauto* and for *amendare*, ‘to hide’, the note ad 20.8.9 *amendatusque*.

In hac dimicatione nostri quoque periere non contemnendi Petschenig, 1892, 524 conjectured *periere*, which is clearly closer to V's *petere* than Gelenius' *oppetiere*. The litotes *non contemnendus*, which Amm. uses also in 18.9.3 and 26.8.4, here probably refers to the rank, not the numbers of the Roman casualties. 10.16

inter quos Valerianus fuit domesticorum omnium primus Valerianus (*PLRE* I, Valerianus 6) must have been *primicerius domesticorum*, i.e. the *domesticus* who ranked first among his colleagues, like Jovian before he became emperor (cf. the note ad 25.5.4 *domesticorum ordinis*). Nothing further is known of him. See for *domestici* the note ad 20.4.21 *tribuni*.

et Natuspardo quidam scutarius, exsertus ita bellator, ut Sicinio veteri comparetur et Sergio As is observed in the note ad 26.5.14 *hisque scutarium*, it is not clear why Seyfarth here and in 27.10.16, 29.1.16 and 31.10.20 does not print the word *scutarius* with a capital letter, as in the other 23 times it occurs in Amm. Natuspardo ("vielleicht...ein Germane", Hoffmann, 1969–1970, I, 299; not mentioned in Waas, 1971²) does not occur in *PLRE* I, as is rightly observed by Baldwin, 1976, 120, although he wrongly notes that "strictly speaking, this *scutarius* was ineligible for inclusion in *PLRE*." Actually, other *Scutarii* (whether Seyfarth prints their job specification with capital S or not), such as e.g. Gaudentius (26.5.14), Salvius (27.10.12) and Sallustius (29.1.16) do occur in the *Prosopography*. For their *schola* see the references noted ad § 12. We already met the couple Sicinius (Dentatus) and Sergius (Silus) in 25.3.13, q.v. For *exsertus*, 'excellent', see the note ad 26.8.9 *hanc post*.

hisque tali casuum diversitate perfectis milites ad hiberna, imperatores Treveros reverterunt Valentinian and Gratian were back in Trier on 6 November 368 at the latest (*Cod. Theod.* 1.29.4: *dat. viii Id. Nov. Trev[eris] Val[entiniano] et Valente II AA. cons.*; cf. Seeck, 1919, 234; Pergami, 1993, 292, 410; Frakes, 2001, 111).

CHAPTER 11

Introduction

This brief chapter contains the portrait of a man whose influence was paramount in the period described by the author in the last hexad of the *Res Gestae*: Sextus Claudius Petronius Probus, four times praetorian prefect and consul in 371. As various scholars have noted, apart from emperors and Caesares no other individual is portrayed so elaborately. It is an almost entirely disparaging description, in which Probus is pictured as an evil man with a petty character, who did not shun ugly methods. Paradoxically, for all his power he was at the same time a prisoner of his own elevated position: the criminal conduct of the large staff attached to his properties all over the Roman world simply forced him to continue his career in the highest echelons of the imperial administration. In this way he could protect his subordinates against condemnation.

Although not all details of Probus' career can be established with certainty the available evidence, especially the inscriptions in which his various offices are listed, has enabled scholars to put together a reasonably reliable reconstruction. Some passages in Books 28 to 30 have also proved helpful, but in the present chapter, apart from the actual name Probus, all specific details are lacking. Moreover, Ammianus' various general characterizations, which are in fact tantamount to indictments, are hardly ever illustrated with any specific facts. It was obviously his prime objective to paint a highly negative picture, which contrasts sharply with the esteem in which this scion of a famous aristocratic Roman family was held by those who depended on his influence and protection. The historian describes the great man as a person who prided himself on a lofty attitude, rising above everything base and mean, but who, in fact, was deeply involved in crimes committed by his underlings. The description bears some likeness to the satires on Roman aristocrats in Book 14, chapter 6 and Book 28, chapter 4.

Matthews 22 notes that Probus' death occurred in or very close to 390, when Ammianus was busy writing the last five books of his *Res Gestae*, and suggests that the "whole substantial passage reads like a formal obituary". This interesting observation expresses the chapter's

similarity to the (negative part of the) necrologies of emperors and also the author's implication that the principles and practice of a high-class administrator were the exact opposite of what sane and beneficial government should be about. There is no reason to assume that this has anything to do with his Christian conviction. Ammianus does not attack Christianity, but a way of discharging the duties of high office which was detrimental to the Roman Empire.

- 11.1** *Per haec tempora Vulcacio Rufino absoluto vita, dum administrat* This is Amm.'s only example of the phrase *per haec tempora*, which occurs in various other authors, but never frequently. In the present text it refers to the year 368. Hagendahl, 1921, 100–101 provides a long list of Amm.'s synonyms of *mori*; the only other instance of *absolvi vita* is 25.3.23 about Julian: *vita facilius est absolutus*. There are no examples of the phrase in other authors. In a note on p. 101 Hagendahl discusses the possibility of a Grecism; see for a comparable suggestion the note ad 25.3.23 *vita*. Seyfarth rightly accepts Heraeus' correction of V's *administrarat*, which can be explained as a case of dittography. Amm. mentions Vulcaci Rufinus (*PLRE* I, Rufinus 25) six times; the present text contains the last of these references. Cf. for him the notes ad 21.12.24 *potiore* and 27.7.2 *cui ideo* and see further 14.10.4, 14.11.27 and 16.8.13. Rufinus died in office (*dum administrat*), that is, as *praefectus praetorio Italiae, Africae et Illyrici*.

ad regendam praefecturam praetorianam ab urbe Probus accitus Cf. 19.11.2 *Anatolio regente tunc per Illyricum praefecturam*. A mere glance at *PLRE* I, Probus 5 suffices to provide a reminder that Sex. Claudius Petronius Probus (c. 328–388) was a powerful man, who regularly held high posts in the imperial administration. Many literary, epigraphical and legal sources document his career, the details of which are disputed (“sein *cursus* bedarf einer erneuten Untersuchung”, Coşkun, 2002, 403 n. 7). Some literature about the man who is called *nobilitatis culmen* in *ILS* 1265: Mazzarino, 1967; Seyfarth, 1970; Drexler, 1974, 65–78; Novak, 1980; Chastagnol, 1982; Giardina, 1983; Cameron, 1985; McCoy, 1985. Remarkably, this is the first time that Probus, born c. 328 according to some (e.g. *PLRE* I), between 330 and 334 according to others (e.g. Seyfarth, 1970, 413), makes his appearance in the *Res Gestae*. In 364, he had, presumably, held the first of his four praetorian prefectures (see for this number below, the note ad § 3 *ita ille*) and in 366 the second, in Illyricum and Gaul respectively (see the note ad 26.5.5 *et orientem* and

Cameron, 1985, 178–182). In 368 he was apparently living in Rome as a private citizen.

Probus makes more appearances in Amm.'s work. Barnes' dictum: "Ammianus mentions Probus...only to besmirch his name" (p. 119; cf. Seyfarth, 1970, 421) is apposite, although not literally true (30.3.1 is neutral). In 28.1.30–33 Amm. mentions Probus' underhand betrayal of Aginatus which led to the latter's execution. In 29.6.9–11 he reports that, although the praetorian prefect was able to stop a group of Quadi and Sarmatians from attacking Sirmium, he had at first hesitated for a long time, not knowing what to do, and had even cowardly considered to flee and abandon the city. In 30.5.6 Amm. accuses Probus of ruthlessly bleeding the population of his prefecture dry and driving them to despair: *exitialia provisorum nomina titulorum iuxta opulentas et tenues enervatas succidere fortunas argumentis aliis, post validioribus aliis, usu laedendi repperiente longaevo. denique tributorum onera vectigaliumque augmenta multiplicata optimatum quosdam ultimorum metu exagitatos mutare compulit* (pace Henri de Valois Gelenius' *compulerunt* is preferable) *sedes et flagitantium ministrorum amari-tudine quidam expressi, cum non suppeteret, quod daretur, erant perpetui carcerum inquilini; e quibus aliquos, cum vitae iam taederet et lucis, suspendiorum exoptata remedia consumpserunt* ("The imposition of ruinous taxes fatally sapped the resources of rich and poor alike. Long practice in oppression suggested a series of pretexts, each more powerful than the last. Finally, the burden of tribute and repeated increases in taxation caused such alarm that some members of the upper classes changed their place of residence. Others, squeezed by the harsh demands of the officials to a point where they could pay no more, became permanent inmates of prisons; and some of these grew tired of the light of day and found a welcome relief by hanging themselves", tr. Hamilton). Amm. is not the only author who comments negatively on Probus' activities during his prefecture. Hier. *Chron.* a. 372 remarks in a similar vein: *Probus praefectus Illyrici iniquissimis tributorum exactionibus ante provincias quas regebat quam a barbaris vastarentur erasit*.

Significantly, when he speaks about Valentinian II being proclaimed Augustus (*PLRE* I, Valentinianus 8; cf. Girardet, 2004) in 375 (30.10.4–6), Amm. conceals Probus' role in it. We owe our information to Rufin. *hist.* 11.12: *Probo tunc praefecto fideliter rem gerente*.

claritudine generis et potentia et opum amplitudine cognitus orbi Romano Amm. straightaway mentions the two pillars which were fundamental for his career. In all probability he borrowed the words *claritudine generis* from

Tacitus, the only earlier author in whose oeuvre the phrase occurs, eight times in all. Cf. for similar expressions with respect to Probus' parentage and social position 30.5.4 *prosapiae suae claritudo* and *CIL* 6.1756b.5 *dives opum clarusque genus, praecelsus honore*, a line from an epigraphically transmitted epitaph for Probus in verse (see for an attempt to prove that bishop Ambrose wrote this poem Schmidt, 1999 and cf. further Trout, 2001; the assertion of e.g. *PLRE* I that Probus himself "wrote poems and dedicated to the Emperor Theodosius a collection of his own, his father's and his grandfather's verses", is rightly refuted by Cameron, 2002). Probus was a descendant in the female line of the powerful and immensely rich Roman family of the Anicii and married to Anicia Faltonia Proba (*PLRE* I, Proba 3). See stemma 7 and 24 in *PLRE* I. On *ILS* 1267 he is called *Anicianae domus culmen*. Jerome thought of him as the most distinguished member of the Anician house which could boast several consuls: *nunc mihi Proborum et Olybriorum clara reputanda sunt nomina et illustre Anicii sanguinis genus, in quo aut nullus aut rarus est, qui non meruerit consulatum* (*epist.* 130.3), and indeed, Probus' grandfather Petronius Probianus (*PLRE* I, Probianus 3) was consul in 322, his father Petronius Probinus (*PLRE* I, Probinus 2) in 341; Probus himself held the consulate in 371, his sons Olybrius (*PLRE* I, Olybrius 2) and Probinus (*PLRE* I, Probinus 1) were joint consuls in 395, another son (*PLRE* II, Probus 11) in 406 (Bagnall et al., 1987, 178–179, 216–217, 276–277, 324–325, 346–347). The fact that our Probus shared the consulship in 371 with the emperor Gratian is especially emphasized by Ausonius: *nam consul aeternum cluet / collega Augusti consulis*, "for as consul he has endless fame as colleague of an Emperor-consul" (*epist.* 9b.21–22, tr. Evelyn White).

In 16.8.13 Amm. comments unfavourably on the acquisitiveness of the younger generation of the Anicii: *satiari numquam potuit cum possessione multo maiore*. Amm. uses the term *orbis Romanus* fifteen times; see the notes ad 21.13.13 *aequitate*, 22.9.1 *orbem* and 23.5.19 *pro Romano orbe*.

per quem universum paene patrimonia sparsa possedit, iuste an secus, non iudicium est nostri In the first Roman digression the aristocrats themselves are said to boast about the excellent yield of their land all over the world: *patrimonia sua in immensum extollunt cultorum, ut putant, feracium multiplicantes annuos fructus, quae a primo ad ultimum solem se abunde iactitant possidere* (14.6.10). True wealth consisted in landed property, in the fourth century A.D. just as much as in earlier phases of Roman history. As is noted in TLL X 1.751.40–41, the term *patrimonium* mostly, but not necessarily

refers to inherited property. The present context seems to imply that Probus had acquired at least part of his possessions in another way. See for *iuste an secus* the note ad 20.8.11 *nec actum*. The ironic phrase *non iudicioli est nostri* returns in the second Roman digression, when the author states that he is not able to explain why Roman readers prefer Juvenal and Marius Maximus to serious and high-class literature (28.4.14). TLL lists only one other example of the word *iudiciolum*. The past master of innuendo would have expressed himself more subtly: *largus privatim, quo avidius de re publica sumeret* (Tac. *Hist.* 2.84.2 about Mucianus), *adquirendae pecuniae brevius iter credebat per procuraciones administrandis principis negotiis* (Tac. *Ann.* 16.17.3 about Annaeus Mela).

hunc quasi gemina quaedam, ut fingunt poetae, Fortuna vehens praepetibus pinnis 11.2
 Henri de Valois was convinced that *gemina* should be emended to *gen-uina*. His suspicion of *gemina* is quite surprising in view of his own timely reference to V. Max. 6.9. *ext.* 4 *Alcibiaden quasi duae fortunae partitae sunt*. Admittedly, Valerius Maximus used the conceit for the ups and downs in Alcibiades' career. Amm. in turn also brings out two aspects of Probus' career, but in a different way, viz. the alternation of friendly behaviour towards some people and downright nasty treatment of others. Moreover, *quasi... quaedam* expresses that the author is aware of the boldness of the phrase; see OLD s.v. *quidam* 3b. However, *ut fingunt poetae* poses a problem, because no poetical passage in which a 'double Fortune' occurs can be traced. Closest to it is Mart. 5.1.3, in which the words *veridicae... sorores* ('the truth-telling sisters') no doubt refer to the two *Fortunae* worshipped in Antium (Drexler, 1974, 65 and Howell ad loc.). See for these goddesses Tac. *Ann.* 15.23.2 (*Fortunarum effigies aureae*), Suet. *Cal.* 57.3 (*Fortunae Antiatinae*), Fronto p. 155.1 (*Fortunas Antiatis*), Macr. *Sat.* 1.23.13 (*videmus apud Antium promoveri simulacra Fortunarum ad danda responsa*), ILS 3697 (*Fortunis Antiatibus*) and CIL 10.6638 (*aeditu<u>s Fortunarum*). In all probability the *Praenestinae... sorores* of Stat. *Silv.* 1.3.80 should also be identified with the "Zwillingsgottheit" Fortuna. See for this Riemann, 1987 and 1988. Cf. further AE 1919.71 and 1940.48 and see for the iconography of the "tipo doppio" of Fortuna Rausa, 1997, 127. In general: Champeaux, 1982 (esp. 169–182: "le problème de la dyade divine") and 1987.

If Amm.'s reference in fact concerns *praepetibus pinnis*, this combination occurs both in Cic. *Div.* 1.106, where Cicero quotes from his poem about Marius (see Pease ad loc.), and Verg. *A.* 6.15 (see Norden and Austin ad loc.). This solution is not convincing, because in this case *ut*

fingunt poetae would be the mere equivalent of ‘to use a poetical expression’. As to the disputed meaning of *praepes*, which also occurs in 18.6.3 *credimus...per aerios tramites famam praepetem volitare* (q.v.), in view of the instances in Cicero and Vergil quoted above it seems most likely that the adj. here, too, denotes swiftness.

nunc beneficum ostendebat et amicos sublimius erigentem, aliquotiens insidiatorem dirum et per cruentas noxium simultates Probus followed the age-old code of conduct of helping friends and harming enemies (cf. August. *Conf.* 6.10.16, speaking of a very influential senator *cuius et beneficii obstricti multi et terrori subditi erant*) and he sometimes treated a friend as if he were an enemy, as the case of Aginatus (28.1.30–33) shows. Among those who capitalized on Probus’ patronage were probably some officials who honoured him on inscriptions: the *proconsul Achaiae* Anatolius (*PLRE* I, Anatolius 8), the *consularis Cretae* Fl. Fursidius Aristides (*PLRE* I, Aristides) and Oecumenius Dositheus Asclepiodotus, another *consularis Cretae* (*PLRE* I, Asclepiodotus 2 + W. Eck, *Zeephyrus* 23/24 [1972–1973] 329). A likely candidate is also the *pronsul Africae* Petronius Claudius (*PLRE* I, Claudius 10 + J. Martindale, *Historia* 29 [1980] 480), who, pace Mazzarino, 1967 and Giardina, 1983, should not be identified with our PPO, as Cameron, 1985 shows. See for more possible candidates Novak, 1980, 482–484. Among others Novak points to bishop Ambrose, who was *consularis Aemiliae et Liguria* in the 370’s, but had previously served on Probus’ legal staff (Paul. *Med. vita Ambr.* 5).

This is the only occurrence of *beneficus* in the *Res Gestae*. Amm. adapts a phrase which he had used in 27.9.4 about Valentinian: *dignitates opesque eorum* (high-ranking military men) *sublimius erigentem*. See for some comparable instances of *erigere* TLL V 2.783.24 sqq. The combination *nunc...aliquotiens* also occurs in 14.2.5, 15.13.4, 16.11.9, 17.13.27, 20.3.12 (q.v.), 20.7.18, 24.7.7. This relative frequency is not surprising in view of Amm.’s predilection for *aliquotiens*. In the present text it might suggest that ‘harming enemies’ was more conspicuous during Probus’ career than ‘helping friends’. This is even more emphasized by the gruesome description of Probus’ hostile side, which would neatly fit the characterization of a present-day boss of the camorra: he was a frightfully dangerous machinator, acting criminally (*noxium*) by way of bloody feuds.

et licet potuit, quoad vixit, ingentia largiendo et intervallando potestates assiduas See for *licet* with indic. the note ad 20.6.9. When denoting that a person has influence or power, the verb *posse* is always combined with an internal object, as in Orgetorix' famous words *non esse dubium quin totius Galliae plurimum Helvetii possent* (Caes. *Gal.* 1.3.6). Usually the word denoting the degree of the power is in the singular, but TLL X 2.150.15–17 lists a few examples of the plural, among which Amm. 18.4.3 *multa Constantius potuit*. There is, therefore, no reason to doubt that *ingentia* should be taken with *potuit*. The phrase *quoad vixit* is used by other authors too, sometimes, as in the present text, hyperbolically: *reus enim Milonis lege Plotia fuit Clodius quoad vixit* (Cic. *Mil.* 35), (Petrone) *quam Tettius, quoad vixit, in matrimonio habuerat* (V. Max. 7.7.3), *Q. Haterius... eloquentiae quoad vixit celebratae* (Tac. *Ann.* 4.61.1).

As to *largiendo*, Claudianus in his panegyric on Olybrius and Probinus, consuls in 395, speaks highly of their father's generosity: *hic non divitias nigrantibus abdidit antris / nec tenebris damnavit opes, sed largior imbre / sueverat innumeras hominum ditare catervas*, 'he did not hide his wealth in dark caves nor condemn his property to the underworld, but abundantly showered gifts upon countless numbers of people' (*Olyb.* 42–44) and: *cernere semper erat populis undare penates, / assiduos intrare inopes, remeare beatos*, 'one could see that his house was always full of people, that many entered it poor to leave it as rich men' (ibid. 46–47). In Probus' epitaph it is said: *parcus opum nulli, largus et ipse sui* (*CIL* 6.1756a.14) and on *AE* 1972.76 he is called *nobilitate munificentiaeque praestanti*.

According to TLL VII 1.69–72 this is a unique instance of the verb *intervallare*, which itself is quite rare: *intervallando* is the equivalent of "per intervalla suscipiendo". Strictly speaking this is incompatible with *assiduas*: there were periods in which Probus was not in office, and one might be tempted to read *assidue*, but the adj. can be interpreted as being hyperbolic. A survey of Probus' career gives the impression that he was continually carrying out some office or other. In this he was rather exceptional among the senatorial aristocracy of Rome. "Office was regarded as an encumbrance, accepted with reluctance and laid down with relief", says Matthews, 1975, 9, who cites as typical the career of the orator Symmachus, who, over a period of forty years, "held only three offices which involved active administrative responsibilities, each of them in tenure lasting no more than a year, and separated from the next by about ten years of private life" (p. 13). There was

another difference between Probus and his fellow aristocrats: he never held the prefecture of Rome, the culmination of the regular senatorial *cursus*.

erat tamen interdum timidus ad audaces, contra timidos celsior, ut videretur, cum sibi fideret, de coturno strepere tragico et, ubi paveret, omni humilior socco Probus behaved like a crocodile: *audax tamen crocodilus monstrum fugacibus, ubi audacem senserit, timidissimum* (22.15.20, q.v.). *Ad* here means “in front of” (OLD s.v. 17). See for *celsus* denoting proud confidence 31.13.4 *celsum ferocia barbarum*. The forms *fideret* and *paveret* are textbook examples of the iterative use of the subjunctive; see Szantyr 547, 624 and 652. Cf. 20.1.2 *de tragico, quod aiunt, coturno strepentem* (q.v.) and for the contrast with *soccus* 28.4.27. The origin of the proverbial phrase (see Otto, 1890, 95–96) is the typical footwear of the actors in tragedy and comedy respectively. Cf. also Apul. *Met.* 10.2 *a socco ad coturnum ascendere* with Zimmerman’s note ad loc. (GCA 2000, 69). Not all of Ammianus’ contemporaries expressed such an unfavourable judgment about Probus. Venetians and Histrians offered their gratitude epigraphically *ob insignia erga se remediorum genera* to the prefect, *litterarum et eloquentiae lumini, auctoritatis exemplo, provisionum ac dispositionum magistro, humanitatis auctori, moderationis patrono, devotionis antistiti* (ILS 1265), and the inhabitants of Gortyn on Crete praised him as εὐεργέτην καὶ σωτῆρα τοῦ ἔθνους (*Inscr. Cret.* 4.312). However, Amm. would not have been impressed by such tokens of appreciation. In 30.5.8 he accuses Probus of compelling the people of Epirus and others to send envoys to the emperor and express their gratitude (30.5.8).

- 11.3 *atque ut natantium genus elemento suo expulsum haud ita diu spirat in terris* ‘Fishes cast up from their element’ is expressed in a high-flown manner: *natantium genus* is a variation of *genus omne natantum* (Verg. *G.* 3.541); the use of *elementum* to denote air, earth, fire or water also occurs in 17.13.15: death *per elementum utrumque* (fire and water), 22.15.15 about the crocodile: *assuetum elementis ambobus* (earth and water). There is every reason to suspect *ita*, which has no function at all, in contrast to other cases in which *ita* qualifies an adj. or adv.; see for this the note ad *quod dictum ita amarum* (20.11.5). Moreover, *haud diu* occurs in 19.9.8, 21.12.3, 23.2.5. In the present text *ita* is a sort of dittography caused by *ita* introducing the apodosis of the comparison.

ita ille marcebat absque praefecturis, quas iurgiis familiarum ingentium capessere cogeatur numquam innocentium per cupiditates immensas, utque multa perpetrarent impune, dominum suum mergentium in rem publicam Without his prefectures, of which he held four ([*prae(fecto)*] *praetorio qua[ter]*, *AE* 1934.160), Probus was languishing. One would expect the reason to be that such functions were meat and drink to him, but the author has a surprise in store: he was simply forced to continue his career in the imperial administration because of the behaviour of his staff. Heraeus' attractive proposal to emend V's *iurgi familiarum ingentium* to *iugi familiarum licentia* convinced Clark. It was inspired by *iugem licentiam* (21.5.3); moreover, Amm. regarded *licentia* as one of the main vices of the society he lived in, and the *familiae* in Probus' many *patrimonia* all over the world (§ 1) may well have been guilty of an 'ongoing usurpation of freedom to do whatever they liked'. This was only possible as long as their master was in power. However, Adrien de Valois' *iurgiis* is not only a simpler correction, it also matches the entire context better. Yet even Probus pretended that he preferred *otium*. "Recalled, after seven years' retirement, to hold his last praetorian prefecture in 383, this untypical aristocrat had evidently expressed the usual affectation of reluctance to hold office; and he duly evoked from Symmachus words of sympathy and encouragement to bear with the trouble and responsibility" (Matthews, 1975, 11): *Sit tibi animus aequus et patiens muneris imperati* (Symm. *Ep.* 1.58). When precisely Probus held his four prefectures is disputed (see the literature cited ad § 1 *ad regendam*), but it seems best to follow the reconstruction of Cameron, 1985, 181 and adopt the following sequence: 1. 364 (Illyricum); 2. 366 (Gaul); 3. 368–375 (Illyricum, Italy, Africa); 4. 383–384 (Illyricum, Italy, Africa).

The 'large staff' in the numerous *patrimonia* had the habit to get involved in legal proceedings, because they failed to moderate their desires. In its lemma *familia* the TLL rightly classifies the present text under the heading "de corpore servorum et societate domus" (VI.1 242.32 sqq.), and not in the rubric "de corpore agnatorum et cognatorum" (VI 1.242.77 sqq), as Barnes presumably would have done ("Ammianus could trust his readers to identify the *familiae ingentes* of Probus as the Christian Anicii", p. 118). The fact that *familiarum* is combined with *ingentium* pleads against Barnes' view, as Marié n. 297 already made clear ("l'épithète *ingens* ne convient pas aux grandes familles de la noblesse romaine"). However, not everyone, as we saw, accepts V's *ingentium*. In his bilingual edition, for instance, Seyfarth

adopted Heraeus' proposal to read *iugi familiarum licentia* and rendered these words with "durch das gesetzwidrige Treiben der Familien", in which *familiarum*, as in Barnes' view, must be understood as *familiarum nobilium* (cf. 28.1.46 *in succidendis familiarum nobilium nervis*). This meaning of *familiarum* is also preferred by Matthews, be it on other grounds: "I am still attracted by the reading, suggested to me some years ago by Robert Ireland, of 'instantium' for V's 'ingentium'. Probus was forced into office by the quarrels – that is, the litigation, as at *CTh* 2.8.1 – of the importunate ('instantium') families to which he belonged" (p. 520 n. 51). However, in their interpretation the said scholars, whether or not they accept the reading *ingentium*, do not sufficiently take the context into account: Amm. not only calls Probus in the very sentence under discussion *dominum*, a word which in the *Res Gestae* eight times out of twenty-four refers to a master as opposed to his slaves, but in the next section also refers back to the huge *familiae* of § 3 with *clienti vel servo*. That clinches the matter.

See for *iurgium* as a juridical t.t. 14.9.1 *forensibus iurgiis*, 18.1.2 *iurgia dirimens* (q.v.), 25.4.15 *fisci iurgia cum privatis*, and in general TLL VII 2.667.3–43. In these proceedings Probus' people were 'never blameless', so that his influence in the courts of law was indispensable. In order to exert such influence he simply needed to hold a high public office. See TLL III 311.31–47 for *capessere* denoting the occupying of posts ("honores, imperia, magistratus"); cf. Amm. 26.10.3 *umbram principatus funesti capessit*. TLL VII 1.1702.43–44 wrongly lists the present case of *innocens* in the category "de abstinentia et frugalitate".

As appears in TLL X 1.1632.22–47, only in a limited number of cases does *perpetrare* concern wrongdoing. Remarkably, all eight instances in Amm. do, e.g. *multa et nefanda perpetrabantur* (16.8.1), *perniciosa facinora...*, *quae Romae perpetrare complures* (28.1.10). With *multa* Amm. indicates that criminal behaviour had become second nature to Probus' staff, so that they 'immersed' (*mergentium*) their boss (*dominum*) in a public career. TLL VIII 835.9–17 contains a list of cases in which *mergere* is used metaphorically in combination with "curis, negotiis sim."; cf. 26.9.9 *mersusque multiformibus curis*. In the present text *mergentium* picks up the comparison with a fish out of the water: Probus' *familiae* threw the fish back where he belonged.

- 11.4 *namque fatendum est: numquam ille magnanimitate coalitus clienti vel servo agere quidquam iussit illicitum* Amm.'s remarkable statement that Probus' staff 'immersed him in a public career' needs some explanation, which is

introduced by *namque*. The explanation itself, however, is preceded by conceding a point which at first sight seems to be incompatible with it. Amm. first concedes that Probus was *magnanimus*, elevated above all baseness, but then, finally, comes up with his damning explanation. The phrase *fatendum est* occurs in a number of authors, not always with the same function. It can denote a necessary conclusion drawn from an earlier statement, e.g. Cic. *N.D.* 2.76 *qui deos esse concedant iis fatendum est eos aliquid agere idque praeclarum*, or introduce a point conceded with some reluctance, e.g. Macr. *Sat.* 3.14.2, where one of the participants in the discussion is praising the days of old, in which so much was achieved as a result of the *virtutum...ubertas*, and then continues: *sed, quod fatendum est, in illa virtutum abundantia vitii quoque aetas illa non caruit*. The present text is obviously an example of the latter type.

The phrase *magnanimitate coalitus* deserves careful analysis. The adj. *magnanimus* occurs already in Plautus and is probably a ‘Lehnübersetzung’ from Greek *μεγάθυμος* (see Skutsch, 1902, 208–210, Leumann 386), but later on was also used to render the more philosophical term *μεγαλόψυχος*; see Procopé, 1991. There are two instances of *magnanimus* in the *Res Gestae*, 15.2.3 (Ursicinus), 30.8.8 (Themistocles), and three of *magnanimitas*, 16.5.9 (Julian), 19.6.4 (the Gauls) and the present text. Brandt, 1999, 200–205 rightly introduces phrases like *magnus animus*, *magnitudo animi* and *celsus spiritus* in his survey of the concept. His point of departure is in fact what Amm. says about Constantius at the beginning of his elogium: *popularitatem elato animo contemnebat et magno* (21.16.1, q.v.). Here we meet one of the basic elements implied in the concept: disdain of everything base, mean or vile. Such an attitude manifests itself in various ways and thus as a result is close to concepts like *constantia*, *fortitudo*, *gravitas*. A person who is *magnanimus* sets himself high standards in order to preserve his dignity in all situations. When reading superficially, one might regard the ascription of *magnanimitas* to Probus as flagrantly conflicting with the qualification *minutus*, ‘small-minded’ (OLD s.v. 2c) in § 5, but a closer look makes clear that there is actually no conflict. He was ‘petty’ (tr. Hamilton) *suoapte ingenio*, ‘by his very nature’, but he had ‘become fused with (the conduct prescribed by) magnanimity’. Acquired habit contrasted with natural instinct in Probus’ personality. See for *coalitus* with dat. or abl. meaning ‘grown fully accustomed to’ the note ad 21.5.2 *actibus*. Other examples in Book 27 are *magniloquentia socordi coalitus* (27.2.6) and *tolerantia rerum coalitum asperarum* (27.6.8). See for *iubere* with dat. the note ad 26.8.5 *et dedignatus*.

The ‘huge *familiae*’ of § 3 are referred to with *clienti vel servo*. “Daß die Klienten des Petronius Probus in einem Atemzug mit den Sklaven genannt werden, deutet darauf hin, daß sie niederer sozialer Herkunft gewesen sind” (Krause, 1987, 48). Cf. for such clients 15.5.8 *clientes et servos hostili timore vexabat* and 28.1.10 *per clientes aliosque humiles* and see for patronage in the (late) Roman world, apart from Krause, Garnsey and Woolf, 1989. The clients, referred to here, were, of course, not the same as the *proconsules* and *consulares* mentioned as individuals who gained by Probus’ patronage in the note ad § 2 *nunc beneficium*. An inscription found in Capua in honour of Probus, *AE* 1972.76, ends with the following words: *originali patrono regiones [3] collegia posuerunt*. Note the wide range of actions denoted by *illicitus*, explained by TLL VII 1.375.55–57 as “de eo quod a moribus et legibus hominum vel a deorum voluntate abhorret”. Probus did not merely refrain from ordering unlawful acts, but also from ordering acts forbidden by ethics or religion.

sed si eorum quemquam crimen ullum compererat admisisse, vel ipsa repugnante Iustitia non explorato negotio sine respectu boni honestique defendebat When full-blown crimes were committed by his servants the man, who so scrupulously abstained from ordering any form of wrongdoing, sang an entirely different tune. He was ready to defend any criminal act, not put off by the rules demanded by the normal course of justice. The lady Iustitia herself protested in vain: he did not even investigate the affair in question, paying no attention to morally correct standards. With *quemquam* and *ullum* Amm. expresses that Probus defended any crime. See the note ad 26.9.10 *vel ipsa* for Amm.’s personifications of justice. It should be noted that, in spite of his negative verdicts on the society he describes in the *Res Gestae*, the author is convinced that the lady Iustitia in the end always prevails: *sempiternus... Iustitiae vigor, aliquotiens serus, sed scrupulosus quaesitor gestorum recte vel secus* (30.2.9). By issuing *Cod. Theod.* 9.10.4 in 390 the then emperors tried to deter people like Probus and their slaves from wilfully committing crimes, in this case violence: *servos, qui fecisse violentiam confessionibus testium aut propriis docebuntur... si illi metu atque exhortatione dominorum violentiam admiserint, palam est, secundum legem Iuliam dominum infamem pronuntiandum loci aut originis propriae dignitate non uti, servos vero, quos furoribus talium paruisse constiterit, metallis per sententiam dedi* (“When slaves are proved by the testimony of witnesses or by their own confession to have committed violence, ... if they committed the violence because of fear or the exhortation of their masters, it is

clear, according to the Julian law, that the master shall be pronounced infamous and that he cannot use as defense the dignity of his station or of his birth; but slaves who are proved to have obeyed the madness of such masters shall be sentenced to the mines”, tr. Pharr).

TLL V 2.1747.14–16 regards this as a very rare case of *explorare* functioning as a juridical t.t. The phrase *sine respectu* with gen. occurs nine times in Amm., in all instances except for the present one in combination with *periculi*, *salutis* or *sui* denoting “a high degree of recklessness” (see the note ad 22.9.8 *sine respectu periculi*). It does occur in other authors, but never with a complement like *boni honestique*.

quod vitium reprehendens iam pronuntiat Cicero: “Quid enim interest inter suamorem facti et probatorem? aut quid refert, utrum voluerim fieri an gaudeam factum?” Among Amm.’s more than twenty quotations from, or references to, Cicero the present text and 30.4.7 are the only cases in which he uses the name *Cicero*. In all other instances he uses *Tullius* or the adj. *Tullianus*, e.g. *illam sententiam Tullianam* (15.5.23), *sententiae illius Tullianae ignarus* (26.10.12). See the note ad 21.16.13 *ut Tullius* and the last part of the note ad 26.1.2 *haec quidem*. The present text is a quotation from *Phil.* 2.29, entirely out of context. See for Amm. and Cicero also the note ad 27.4.8 *et Stagira*.

suspiciosus tamen et minutus suoapte ingenio fuit et subamarum arridens blandiensque interdum, ut noceat See for the purely connective role of the particle *tamen* the note ad 26.3.6 *Sub hoc*. Seyfarth rightly follows Clark in preferring Gelenius’ *minutus*, ‘petty’, ‘mean’, to V’s *munitus*, printed and optimistically rendered by “sur ses gardes” by Marié. A reference to 19.12.5, where according to V’s text Constantius is characterized as *susplicax et minutus*, clinches the matter. Curiously, in this case Gelenius has *munitus*. The only other instance of *minutus* comparable to the present one is Cic. *Fin.* 1.61, where the Epicurean Torquatus lists the *minuti et angusti* among those who are unable to experience true pleasure. See for the contrast between *suoapte ingenio* and *coalitus* in § 4 the note ad loc. Of Amm.’s eighteen instances of *suoapte* and *suaapte* taken together, nine occur in the phrase *suaapte natura* and seven in *suoapte ingenio*.

11.5

The phrase *subamarum arridens* is the only physical detail of Probus’ portrait, and it happens to have a parallel in a physiognomic treatise: *qui amarus est et litigiosus his indicibus apparebit: surrideat necesse est, quod Graeci σεσηπέναι* (“grinning laughter”, Liddell-Scott, s.v. *σαίρω*) *dicunt* (*Physiogn.* 99). Amm. has a liking for composite adjectives beginning

with *sub-*; see the notes ad 21.16.19 *subniger* and 23.6.75 *subnigri*. The verb *arridere*, which occurs only here in the *Res Gestae*, means “to smile in response to” (OLD s.v. 1). Perhaps the most famous instance is Hor. *Ars* 101–102 *ut ridentibus arrident, ita flentibus adflent/humani vultus*. Cf. Julian’s nasty smile: *amarum Iulianus subridens* (21.9.8, q.v.). Perhaps unwittingly, Probus followed the advice about handling a lover which the *lena* gave to one of her girls: *blandire noceque* (Ov. *Am.* 1.8.103). In any case, he knew how to inflict harm by flattering. The strict rule of the *consecutio temporum* would have required *noceret*, but apart from the fact that Amm. does not always follow this rule (see the note ad 25.3.16 *neve me*), this would not have resulted in a regular *cursus*.

- 11.6 *id autem perspicuum est in eiusmodi moribus malum, tum maxime, cum celari posse existimatur* With *autem* a new topic is introduced. It is announced by *id*, which is first defined as ‘clearly visible’ and then followed by an explanation (see OLD s.v. *is* 8); it would, therefore, be better to print a colon instead of a comma behind *existimatur*, and to regard all the subsequent characterizations in § 6 and 7 as continuing the structure of *suspiciosus...fuit* in § 5. Paradoxically, precisely that nasty trait in one’s personality which one regards as something that can be hidden, becomes most visible.

ita implacabilis et directus, ut, si laedere quemquam instituisset, nec exorari posset nec ad ignoscendum erroribus inclinari Once he had decided to harm someone, he did not budge an inch from the course he had adopted. He shared his relentlessness with Constantius, whom the author characterized as *acerbum et implacabilem* (14.9.2). There seems to be only one clear parallel of *directus* with the meaning required in the present text. Having called to mind a strict father in one of Caecilius’ comedies, Cicero then refers to him with these words: *huic tristi ac directo seni*. Van Wageningen notes ad loc.: “*Directus* senex is est, qui sine ambagibus loquitur et suo quamque rem, quodque vitium nomine appellat, severus, durus”. Austin renders: “to this glum and blunt old gentleman”. Probus is not the only person in the *Res Gestae* for whom harming people was a favourite pastime; see the note ad 26.10.2 *nam si* for comparable cases in which the verb *nocere* is used and cf. the following phrases, in which the verb *laedere* occurs: *propensior ad laedendum* (an anonymous eunuch in 16.7.8), *fixumque eius propositum ad laedendum* (the notarius Paulus in 19.12.2), *verebantur, ne...multos laederet ut offensus* (Artemius in 22.11.3), *obstinatum Maximini ingenium ad laedendum* (28.1.13).

ideoque aures eius non cera, sed plumbo videbantur obstructae This proverbial statement ultimately goes back to Hom. *Od.* 12.47–48 about Odysseus ἐπὶ δ' οὐατ' ἀλεῖψαι ἐταίρων / κηρὸν δεψήσας μελιηδέα, so that his comrades would be unable to hear, and consequently could not be bewitched by, the Sirens' song. Valentinian knew nothing about the havoc caused by the policy of heavy taxation, *tamquam auribus cera illitis* (30.5.7). Otto, 1890, 48 marshals a lot of evidence in Latin literature, inter alia a close parallel in one of Ambrose's works: *Quid aures tamquam cera et plumbo clauditis?* (*incarn. Dom.* 3.14).

in summis divitiarum et dignitatum culminibus anxius et sollicitus ideoque semper levibus morbis afflictus Cf. 14.11.33 about one of the dangers to which those in high places are exposed: *alius a summo culmine dignitatis excutitur*. See for *in*, 'amid', denoting the circumstances in which something happens which was not expected, in other words with the connotation 'in spite of', OLD s.v. 40 (especially c). The combination of *anxius* and *sollicitus* occurs more often, e.g. Cic. *Fin.* 2.55 *Num igitur eum postea censes anxio animo aut sollicito fuisse?*, Sen. *Ep.* 43.5 (about *mala conscientia*) *etiam in solitudine anxia atque sollicita est*, Apul. *Met.* 4.23 *latrones...anxi atque solliciti*, Amm. 28.4.1 *sollicitus erat et anxius*. The combination is listed as an example of "abundantia sermonis" by Hagendahl, 1924, 173.

11.7

The remarkable 'psychosomatic' explanation of "slight ailments" (Hamilton) may have something to do with the Stoic emphasis on the resemblance of mental and physical diseases. See for this Cic. *Tusc.* 4.23 sqq., e.g. *Quo modo autem in corpore est morbus, est aegrotatio, est vitium, sic in animo* (4.28). Sen., *De ira* 2.36.4 notes that as a result of anger *in morbos aegri recidere*; cf. also Sen. *brev. vit.* 3.2 on self-inflicted ailments: *morbos quos manu* (= by our own doing) *fecimus*.

hae per occidentales plagas series rerum fuere gestarum Cf. *in occidentali et in eoo orbe* (26.5.15, q.v.). See for *series* the note ad 20.1.1 *Haec per Illyricum perque orientem rerum series fuit*. The plural *series* in the present text is due to the fact that the events took place in Gaul, Britannia and Africa.

CHAPTER 12

Introduction

In this chapter Ammianus deals with events in Armenia during the reign of Valens. A number of stereotyped phrases and narrative patterns might suggest that the author's knowledge of the facts was limited, but this is not the case. Sabbah 235–236 persuasively argues that the author's elaborate report is based on good informative sources. Apart from this he wanted to present “une sorte de pendant littéraire au récit mouvementé des événements d'Arménie que Tacite avait donné dans les *Annales*”.

The chronological reconstruction of the affairs in Armenia during the years 363–378 is difficult because the number of sources as well as their content is limited. Firstly and most importantly, there is Ammianus himself. His chronology is probably mostly accurate, although not always completely clear; additional information is provided by the Theodosian Code. Secondly, there are the Armenian sources, in particular the *Epic Histories* by Ps. P'awstos Buzand (Faustus of Byzantium) and the *History of the Armenians* by Movsēs Xorenac'i. The first text, which probably dates from the 470s, presents a detailed account in chronological order of events regarding Armenia during the years *c.* 330–387. The second text dates from approximately the same period; it covers a much greater timespan – from earliest Armenian history to *c.* 440 A.D. – and is less detailed than Ps. P'awstos Buzand. As regards exact dates the Armenian sources are often confusing and not totally reliable, but they do offer a helpful relative chronology of events. Modern scholars have made various attempts to create a chronological reconstruction of events in Armenia post 363. Fundamental are Seeck, 1906, 521–522 and 525 and Seeck, 1920–1923²⁴, V, 58–69, 448–453, whose reconstruction is based primarily on Ammianus and the *Codex Theodosianus*; later chronologies have almost all taken Seeck's reconstruction as their point of departure, and only differ from it in minor details. Recently Lenski, 2007 has presented a revised chronology. His reconstruction differs from that of Seeck in that he inserts another winter into the chronological scheme of events described by Amm. in sections 6–11. Seeck and his followers squeeze into the winter of 368/369 (27.12.6

rigente tunc caelo nivibus et pruinis) and the following year everything that has to do with the future Armenian king Papa referred to in these sections. As Lenski, 2007, 99 remarks: “Either we must assume that Papa had an impossibly busy year in 369, or we might rather postulate that Ammianus omitted mention of a single winter from his account, the winter of 368–369”. Lenski suggests therefore that the winter referred to in 27.12.6 is that of 367/68 and that the winter of 368/69, not mentioned by Amm., should be inserted into the chronological scheme. This makes perfectly good sense because it spreads the many events described by Amm. in the sections 6–11 over almost two years. Lenski’s chronology will therefore be followed in the commentary on this chapter. After preliminary actions to get a foothold in Armenia by soliciting the support of the Armenian nobility in the years 364–366, Sapor took measures which became more rigorous in 367. Firstly, he took the Armenian king Arsaces prisoner, then (*deinde*, § 4) he replaced the king of Hiberia with his own nominee and sent his agents Cylaces and Arrabannes with troops to Armenia. It is possible that Sapor also conquered a large part of eastern Armenia including the city of Artaxata (25.7.12) in this year.

- 12.1** *Rex vero Persidis, longaevus ille Sapor et ab ipsis imperitandi exordiis dulcedini rapinarum addictus* With *Persis* Amm. generally refers to the Sasanid Empire, except for 14.8.5 (q.v.), 23.6.14 and 23.6.41 (q.v.) where *Persis* alludes to the province of Persis in the heartland of the Persian Empire. The ‘Latin’ genitive *Persidis* occurs ten times in the *Res Gestae* and there are four instances of *Persidos* in the long Persian digression in Book 23. See De Jonge’s note ad 16.10.16 *e Perside* for a survey of the way in which the various cases of *Persis* function in the cursus. King Sapor II (309/310–379), Rome’s dangerous enemy in the East, is called *truculentus rex ille Persarum* in 20.6.1 (q.v.); for other negative descriptions of the Sasanid ruler see Drijvers, 2006, 53–54. He became king as a very young boy in 309/310, and thus he must have been between 65 and 70 years of age at this time. Some twenty years before, in a coded letter which alerted the Romans to his expansionist ambitions, he was already called *rex ille longaevus* (18.6.18, q.v.), a qualification which is more suitable for the times reported in the present text. See for Amm.’s predilection for the plural of *exordium* the note ad 26.6.14 *ipsi quoque*. In a transferred sense *addictus* expresses that someone has lost his heart to something, e.g. *addictus mathematicae* (Suet. *Tib.* 69), *gulae ac libidini addictos* (Sen. *Ep.* 124.3), *turbarum cupiditati semper addictus* (Amm.

29.1.5). In his passion for “the delights of rapine” (tr. Hamilton) Sapor equalled the *Maratocupreni grassatores acerrimi* (28.2.11), who loved *rapienti dulcedinem* (28.2.14).

post imperatoris Iuliani excessum et pudendae pacis foedera icta For Amm. Julian’s death was a historical watershed, after which various evil-doers saw their chance. See for Jovian’s ‘shameful’ peace with Sapor 25.7.9–12 and 25.9.7–8 with the notes.

cum suis paulisper nobis visus amicus calcata fide sub Ioviano pactorum iniectabat Armeniae manum, ut eam velut placitorum abolita firmitate dicioni iungeret suae There is a note on Armenia ad 20.11.1; add to the literature mentioned there Chahin, 1987 and Garsoïan, 1997. The kingdom of Armenia, which served as a buffer state between Rome and Persia, was always a bone of contention between the two empires. During his reign Sapor strove to gain power over Armenia; by the treaty of 298 (or 299), concluded after the victory of Galerius over the Persian king Narses, the terms of which were dictated by Rome, Armenia and other regions had come under Roman control; Blockley, 1992, 5–7; Dignas & Winter, 2007, 28–32; and the notes ad 25.7.9 *Petebat* and *quinque regiones*. Sapor had already made his claim clear in his letter to Constantius of 357: *ideoque Armeniam recuperare cum Mesopotamia debeo avo meo composita fraude praereptam* (17.5.6). However, Constantius had no intention to deliver Armenia to the Persian king. The latter, nonetheless, persisted in claiming Armenia; 17.14.1–2; see further the note ad 25.7.9 *Petebat*. The position of Armenia does not seem to have been defined clearly in the peace treaty of 363 – concluded between Sapor and Jovian after Julian’s disastrous campaign –, apart from a clause that Rome would not come to the aid of the Armenian king Arsaces against the Persians; 25.7.12 with the note ad *quibus exitiale* and 26.4.6 *sed iniuste*. After 363 Armenia nominally remained an independent kingdom, but Sapor was given a free hand in the middle country of Armenia as a result of the clause in the 363 settlement; see the note ad 25.7.12 *et remaneret* and Lenski, 2002, 164. Amm. offers no account of events in Armenia immediately after the peace treaty of 363, but it is clear that Sapor made use of the opportunity given to him by this treaty and tried to lay his hands on Armenia. Already in 26.4.6 (with the notes) Amm. had mentioned that after the death of Jovian the Persian king was trying to conquer Armenia. This information seems to be confirmed by Ps. P’awstos Buzand 4.21–49 which lists some twenty-seven Persian

forays into Armenia for the years 364–369; see also Baynes, 1910, 636. The words *cum suis paulisper nobis visus amicus* indicate that Sapor gave the impression of being on friendly terms with Rome in the years 363–366, whilst he was already trying to win political support in Armenia, as is explained in the next section.

With *cum suis* Amm. concedes that Sapor saw to it that for a time his subordinates too kept up the ‘friendship’ with Rome. Next, the author hammers away at the Persians’ unreliability with a combination of two phrases denoting the breaching of pacts. See for *calcare*, ‘to trample on’ in a transferred sense, *aequitate calcata* (21.13.13 and 29.2.11, where it is an emendation). Note that *fide...pactorum* and *placitorum...firmitate* do not have the same meaning: the former phrase concerns the reliability of the treaty dependent on the loyalty of the partners, the latter the stability of the terms of the agreement: Sapor betrays his loyalty and then acts as if the agreement has been abolished. The meaning of *fides* with gen. *pactorum* needs some explanation: it does not denote ‘loyalty to’, for there are no parallels for such a meaning. It is more akin to Amm.’s references to the ‘reliability’ of serious historiography: *fides integra rerum* (16.1.3, q.v.), *fides...scriptorum veterum* (24.2.16, q.v.) or oracles: *fidem vaticinii Delphici* (23.5.9, q.v.). The rest of the lemma’s contents is a repetition of 26.4.6 (in a brief catalogue of invasions and attacks which the Pannonian emperors had to cope with during their reign) *Persarum rex manus Armeniis inieciabat eos in suam dicionem ex integro vocare vi nimia properans* (q.v.).

- 12.2** *et primo per artes fallendo diversas nationem hominum potentem dispendiis levibus afflictabat sollicitans quosdam optimatum et satrapas, alios excursibus occupans improvisis* Sapor’s *artes* were twofold: he bribed certain leaders and he surprised others by sudden invasions. *Sollicitare*, ‘to bribe’, ‘to win over’, is already well attested in classical Latin, e.g. Cic. *Cael.* 31 (according to Baehrens’ conjecture) *sollicitavit servos*, Sal. *Cat.* 24.4 *se Catilina credebat posse servitia urbana sollicitare*; see further OLD s.v. 5. Some examples in Amm.: *ad sollicitandos milites* (16.11.7), *Divitenses Tungricanosque...sollicitare properans* (26.6.12). Sapor’s policy of getting Armenian *optimates* on his side was successful according to Ps. P’awstos Buzand 4.50 and Movsēs Xorenac’i 3.34. With *optimates* Amm. refers to the *nakhharars*, the Armenian grandees, who in the social order ranked immediately below the king of Armenia; they were administratively and judicially sovereign within their own domains, but owed the king military service; Garsoïan, 1997, 76–79. The satraps were probably the rulers over the

Transtigritane territories handed over to Sapor by the peace settlement of 363; these territories were located in the southern region of south Armenia or close to it; Lenski, 2002, 168. Although the Armenian situation and Sapor's potential threat to the region was not without concern to Valens – it was probably one of the reasons why he intended to travel to Antioch in 365 (26.7.2) – it was not yet serious enough for the emperor's presence to be needed on the eastern frontier.

As is noted ad 21.13.4 *oppidaque tuebatur excursu*, Amm. uses *excursus* almost exclusively of hostile incursions. For V's *hominum tentem* Petschenig, 1892, 524 suggested *hominum potentum* “abhängig von *dispendiis* ... denn nur von den armenischen Grossen wird im folgenden gesprochen”. Hagendahl, 1924, 199, n. 1 is right in regarding this as wrong. He refers to 27.8.5 *bellicosa hominum natio*, tentatively interpreting *hominum* as a gen. identitatis. The losses sustained because of Sapor's actions were light; cf. *dispendiis rei Romanae... levissimis* (17.1.14). See for *optimates* denoting the aristocracy of non-Roman peoples the note ad 20.6.3 *per optimates* and cf. 25.3.13 *Persarum optimates et satrapae* (q.v.).

Relations between Rome and Persia were perhaps further complicated by another episode. If we are to believe John Lydus (*Mag.* 3.51.6–52.4), Sallustius, praetorian prefect of the East, held talks with the Persians before 367 hoping to build a fortress together with them at the Caspian Gates to keep out the barbarians, i.e. the Huns; see the note ad 25.7.9 *quinque regiones*; add to the literature mentioned there Lenski, 2002, 173 n. 117.

Sapor's actions provoked opposition in Armenia. It seems that the Armenian Christians generally sided with Rome; most *nakharars* were primarily interested in their own autonomy; Dignas & Winter, 2007, 183.

dein per exquisitas periuriisque mixtas illecebras captum regem ipsum Arsacen adhibitumque in convivium iussit ad latentem trahi posticam For Arsaces (*PLRE* I, Arsaces III), a loyal supporter of Rome, see the note ad 20.11.1 *ascitum Arsacen*. The chronology of his reign is problematic. In the note ad 20.11.1 it is suggested, following the chronology of Hewsens, 1978/79, that Arsaces ruled from 337 until his death in 367. However, Garsoïan, 1997, 85–86, 94 gives as the dates of his reign 350–367 and, apparently in reply to Hewsens adds (p. 86): “historians have been driven to endless arithmetical calculations. Ingenious as many of these hypotheses have been, however, none has yet succeeded in providing an overall solution universally accepted by scholars.”

See the note ad 26.6.7 *qui ad* for more instances of *exquisitus* in a negative sense. A comparable case of *mixtus* is 21.1.2 *mixtaeque periuriis fraudes*. Having dealt with some of the leading aristocrats, Sapor now sets his sights on the king himself. Obviously, *captum* does not mean ‘arrested’, but ‘deluded’, as in *animi molles...dolis haud difficulter capiebantur* (Sal. Cat. 14.5), *Hannibal suamet ipse fraude captus* (Liv. 27.28.13), *ea fraude captum senem* (Tac. Ann. 4.10.3), *metuens, ne...insidiis caperetur occultis* (Amm. 24.1.2); see further TLL III 336.53 sqq., OLD s.v. *capio* 20. Amm.’s ‘backgates’ more often function in secret actions: 14.1.6 *latenter intronmissi per posticas in regiam*, 20.11.22 *reserata latenter postica*, 21.12.13 *erumpabant clanculo per posticas*.

The capture of Arsaces took place in 367 and was already announced by Amm. in 25.7.12 *unde postea contigit, ut vivus caperetur idem Arsaces*; Lenski, 2007, 123. The Armenian sources describe in far more detail both Arsaces’ conflict with Sapor and the opposition which the Armenian king faced from the *nakharars* in his country, which eventually led to his capture by the Persian king; Ps. P’awstos Buzand 4.16–51; Movsēs Xorennac’i 3.26–32.

eumque effossis oculis vinctum catenis argenteis, quod apud eos honoratis vanum suppliciorum aestimatur esse solacium, exterminavit ad castellum Agabana nomine, ubi discruciatu ceciderat ferro poenali Gouging out eyes as punishment was ‘unhellenic’ according to Ael. VH 5.11 (about a Thracian king): πάντας ἐξετύφλωσε, μὴ ποιήσας Ἑλληνικά. The story can be found in Hdt. 8.116. Some other examples: Caes. Gal. 7.4.10 about Vercingetorix: *leviore de causa auribus desectis aut singulis effossis oculis domum remittit*, Liv. Per. 88 about Sulla and Marius Gratidianus: *Marium, senatorii ordinis virum...auribus praeseectis et oculis effossis necavit*, a fact referred to by August. C.D. 3.28. The blinding of Arsaces is unknown to Armenian sources, but they do mention that Tiran or Tigranes, Arsaces’ father, was blinded by the Persians; Ps. P’awstos Buzand 3.20; Movsēs Xorennac’i 3.17; Garsoïan, 1997, 85–86.

In the domain of tall stories about expensive chains for prisoners Amm. is more economical than other authors: Hdt. 3.23.4 (about the Ethiopians) δεσμωτήριον ἀνδρῶν, ἔνθα τοὺς πάντας ἐν πέδησι χρυσέῃσι δεδέσθαι, Clemens Alexandrinus quoting some poet: παρὰ τοῖς βαρβάροις / φασὶν δεδέσθαι τοὺς κακούργους χρυσίῳ. (Paed. 2.12.122.2), *aureis conpedibus Dareum vinciunt* (Curt. 5.12.20), *auro vinctos in ergastulis habent* (Tert. Cult. 1.7.1), *auro vincula faciunt noxiorum* (Sol. 30.10). The Armenian sources speak of iron instead of silver chains. One

wonders to which people *eos* refers: the only plural in the preceding text is *quosdam optimatum et satrapas* in § 2, but it is more likely to be a vague reference to ‘the people there’, Persians and/or Armenians. It is somewhat strange that the people themselves regard the silver chains as an empty consolation, but translators are justified in interpreting it in this way.

The fortress of Agabana is puzzling; although it cannot be identified, it was probably situated in Persia rather than in Armenia as may be surmised from the Armenian sources. Ps. P’awstos Buzand 4.52–54 and Movsēs Xorennac’i 3.34–35 tell us that Arsaces was compelled against his will to submit to Persia and invited to come to the court of Sapor. There he was arrested and subsequently taken to the land of Khuzastan where he was imprisoned in a fortress called Anush, which means ‘Castle of Oblivion’. In contrast to Amm., the same sources report that Arsaces committed suicide after several years of imprisonment in this castle; Grousset, 1947, 142. In general the Armenian sources deal with Arsaces’ elimination by Sapor in a much more elaborate way.

Petschenig, 1892, 524 stoutly defends V’s *deciderat* against editions which print *cecidit*: “Doch ist nicht nur das Plusquamperfekt ohne Anstoss, da Ammian mit anderen späten Schriftstellern die Tempora gänzlich durcheinander wirft, sondern auch das Verbum *decidere* ist richtig”. He was quite successful with his plea: 20th century editors print the pluperfect and TLL V 1.164.60 lists the present text as a case in which *decidere* is the equivalent of “perire” or “decedere”, as in Hor. *Epist.* 2.1.36 *scriptor abhinc annos centum qui decedit*; see Brink’s interesting note ad loc. It would, however, be Amm.’s only instance of *decidere*. As in 21.12.20 *poenali consumpti sunt ferro* (q.v.), the words *ferro poenali* probably denote beheading.

deinde ne quid intemeratum perfidia praeteriret, Sauromace pulso, quem auctoritas Romana praefecit Hiberiae, Aspacurae cuidam potestatem eiusdem detulit gentis diademate addito, ut arbitrio se monstraret insultare nostrorum Apart from a number of times in the present chapter the kingdom of Hiberia, which was situated between the Caucasus mountains and Armenia in modern Southern Georgia, is only mentioned in 21.6.8 (see the note ad *Arsaces et Meribanes*) and in 30.2.2. The kingdom, situated north of Armenia, was presumably not part of the peace settlement of 363, and remained within the Roman sphere of influence, as we may conclude from the fact that an Hiberian embassy was sent to

Constantinople in 365/366, apparently to offer crown money to Procopius; Them. *Or.* 7.92 α πρεσβεῖαι δὲ εἰσεκαλοῦντο εἰς τὰ βασιλεία Σύρων, Ἀσσυρίων, Αἰγυπτίων, Λιβύων, Ἰβήρων. See Lenski, 2002, 165. By intervening in Hiberian affairs and replacing Sauromaces with his puppet Aspacures, Sapor was violating Roman suzerainty in this region. Presumably, like the Armenian aristocracy the Hiberian elite also switched its allegiance from Rome to Sapor; Braund, 1994, 260. Amm. is our only source both for Sauromaces (*PLRE* I, Sauromaces) and Aspacures (*PLRE* I, Aspacures). When the Romans restored Sauromaces to his throne in 370, Hiberia was divided between him and his cousin Aspacures; Sauromaces ruled over the part bordering on Armenia and the Lazi, and Aspacures over the part adjoining Albania and Persia; 27.12.16–17. In order that Sauromaces could maintain his position, Roman soldiers protected him and his kingdom; 30.2.4, 7. Valens refused Sapor's proposal to make Aspacures sole ruler of Hiberia c. 374; 30.2.2–3.

Interestingly, the text of the lemma contains three words denoting various forms of power and authority: *auctoritas*, *potestas* and *arbitrium*. Generally speaking, Amm.'s instances of *auctoritas* concern the authority inherent in specific persons or institutions; some examples: after Julian's prudent speech to his protesting soldiers, they praised *auctoritatem eius sublimitatemque cordis* (24.3.8, q.v.), *secreta librorum praescribit auctoritas mysticorum* (22.14.7 about the rules of the Apis cult; see the note ad loc. for a large number of comparable instances in the religious and philosophical sphere), *ut provincialis et miles et rei publicae decrevit auctoritas* (20.9.7; in the note ad loc. this phrase is explained as a free rendering of the *acclamations* addressed to Julian, emphasizing the unconditional support of civilians and soldiers). In the present text *auctoritas* is well chosen: the Romans did not appoint the vassal king on the basis of some specified legal qualification of theirs, but as a result of their obvious prestige as protectors of Hiberia. Sapor, however, emphasizes the official character of the power he has claimed for himself by awarding his protégé a diadem to symbolize his legitimate position. There is a note on *diadema* ad 20.4.17 *iubebatur*. In accordance with the Roman tradition Amm.'s instances of *potestas* usually concern a specific official competence. It was clearly the Persian king's objective to provoke the Romans by openly showing contempt for (*insultare*) a decision which they regarded as their privilege (*arbitrium*). See for *noster* expressing Amm.'s identification with Roman rule the notes ad 20.4.4 *ad nostra* and 27.4.11 *quo imminente*.

quibus ita studio nefando perfectis Cylaci spadoni et Arrabanni, quos olim susceperat perfugas, commisit Armeniam – horum alter ante gentis praefectus, magister alter fuisse dicebatur armorum In the *Res Gestae* one often finds *studio* accompanied by adjectives denoting the intensity of the zeal or eagerness: *ardenti* (19.3.2, 30.5.16), *ingenti* (14.2.20, 17.8.1, 21.4.6, 25.8.11, 25.9.13), *intento* (18.2.14, 25.4.1), swiftness of action: *agili* (16.11.5), *veloci* (21.12.9), vigilance: *cautiore* (17.5.1), *pervigili* (17.9.1, 18.2.10, 22.15.22). The present text is a unique case of a condemnatory adj.: Sapor's eagerness was 'wicked'. The information that Cylaces was a eunuch is not purely factual; it expresses contempt. See for Amm.'s aversion to eunuchs the note ad 23.6.18 *absque spadonibus*; add to the literature mentioned there Tougher, 2002. The only exception to this 'rule' is Julian's *praepositus cubiculi* Eutherius, who was actually born in Armenia. In his brief portrait of Eutherius (16.7.4–7) Amm. praises his virtues, stressing his own truthfulness in this respect by referring to nature: *inter vepres rosae nascuntur* (16.7.4).

Amm. is our only source for Cylaces (*PLRE* I, Cylaces) and Arrabannes (*PLRE* I, Arrabannes) although attempts have been made to identify Cylaces with a certain Glak and Arrabannes with Vahan Mamikonean mentioned in Ps. P'awstos Buzand 5.3 and 4.58–59 as Lenski, 2002, 170–171 does; see Garsoïan, 1989, 373, 419–420. Cylaces and Arrabannes were most probably Armenian *nakharars* who had defected to Sapor. Both were murdered by Papa; 27.12.14, 30.1.3. Ps. P'awstos Buzand (4.55) presents a somewhat different account from that of Amm.: Sapor gave orders to the Persian officials Zik and Karen to lay siege to Artogerassa and rule over Armenia. However, the Armenian *nakharars* Meruzan Akruni and Vahan Mamikonean were also in leading positions with the consent of Sapor; Ps. P'awstos Buzand 4.55, 58–59, 5.1. It may have been Sapor's intention to replace the Arsacid royal house with a combined rule of Persian administrators and Armenian *nakharars* as Lenski, 2002, 170–171 suggests; cf. Blockley, 1987, 224 who, on the basis of Amm.'s information and leaving out the information of Ps. P'awstos Buzand, suggests that Sapor intended to replace the Arsacid monarchy with a *nakharar* dyarchy.

Amm.'s *magister armorum* should possibly be identified with the Armenian office of *sparapetut'üwn*, the supreme command of the army. This hereditary office was invariably held by the Mamikonean clan; Garsoïan, 1997, 78. If Amm.'s *magister armorum* Arrabannes can indeed be identified with the *sparapetut'üwn* Vahan Mamikonean, Sapor had been able to gain the support of Armenia's highest military commander.

The eunuch Cylaces had filled a high civilian post, not a military one. The unofficial term *gentis praefectus* also occurs in 29.5.21; Arrabannes' military rank is indicated by a literary variant of an official Roman title; see for Amm.'s use of *magister armorum* as a synonym of *magister equitum* the note ad 25.8.11 *armorum magistro*. The second *alter* is due to Henri de Valois. In a paper on 15.3.4 *hic origine Persa, ille natus in Dacia* Sabbah, 1978, disputes the correctness of Gelenius' *ille*, and defends the text of V, where it does not occur. At the end of the paper, when he is looking for a parallel, he tentatively quotes the present text, where the insertion of *alter* might be wrong, because both high posts could have been held by Arrabannes, and Cylaces had already been characterized by *spadoni*. However, this laboured solution would have required the insertion of a word like *postea* instead of *alter*. Presumably, *dicebatur* has the same function as *ut ferebatur* in 22.11.4; see the note ad *is in fullonio*: Amm. implies that he has not been able to ascertain this detail.

isdemque mandarat, ut Artogerassam intentiore cura excinderent, oppidum muris et viribus validum, quod thesauros et uxorem cum filio tuebatur Arsacis For Artogerassa, called Artagers or Artagerk in the Armenian sources, see Hewsén, 2001, 55 D4. Arsaces' (second) wife was called Pharandzem (*PLRE* I, Pharandzem). She is said to have had a hand in the killing of Arsaces' first wife Olympias; Ps. P'awstos Buzand 4.15, Movsēs Xorennac'i 3.24. See for Olympias the note ad 20.11.3 *Olympiada*. Ps. P'awstos Buzand 4.55 reports that Pharandzem had taken refuge in Artogerassa with 11,000 men and that the fortress was besieged for thirteen months. After the capture of Artogerassa she was carried off to Persia, together with many other captives (27.12.12), where she was killed; Movsēs Xorennac'i 3.35; Ps. P'awstos Buzand 4.55. The son is Arsaces' and Pharandzem's child Papa; Movsēs Xorennac'i 3.24. For Papa see the note below ad § 9.

Amm. may have borrowed the phrase *intentiore cura* from Livy (5.7.13, 39.2.4, 42.32.6) or from Curtius Rufus (3.13.8, 4.13.1 and 11). In contrast to Clark, who spells the verb as *excindere* in all four instances (20.7.11, 24.4.13, 25.4.10 and the present text), Seyfarth has *exscindere* in 20.7.11 and 24.4.13. Uniformity would have been preferable. Because Artogerassa was obviously Arsaces' power base, where his treasury and his wife and son were protected, Sapor's aim was not merely to capture the town, but to destroy it. However, this could not easily be achieved by force, because the town was well defended by its walls

and its military strength. Some translators rightly render *viribus* in an explicit manner: “Streitkräfte” (Seyfarth), “garrison” (Marić), “forze militari” (Viansino).

inire, ut statutum est, obsidium duces. et quoniam munimentum positum in asperitate montana rigente tunc caelo nivibus et pruinis adiri non poterat, eunuchus Cylaces aptusque ad muliebria palpamenta Arrabanne ascito prope moenia ipsa fide non amittendae salutis accepta propere venit Are Cylaces and Arrabannes the *duces*? Or does this term denote ‘military leaders’, ‘generals’, who led the military operations under their supervision? See for *dux* as a non-specific military term the notes ad 21.7.1 *cum ducibus* and 25.5.1 *collecti duces*. Probably *munimentum*, ‘fortress’, does not denote the citadel, but the entire *oppidum* Artogerassa; cf. the case of Singara in Book 20, where it is called *civitas* (6.8), *munimentum* (6.9), *oppidum* (7.1) respectively; moreover, below in § 8 Artogerassa is denoted by *civitas*. The town was situated on a ‘rugged mountain’: the adj. *montana* seems to be the equivalent of a gen. inversus; see Szantyr 60 for cases of an adj. as a substitute for a gen. possessivus. *Caelum* is more often used in phrases about the weather conditions or the climate, e.g. Liv. 22.2.11 *palustrique caelo gravante caput*, Plin. *Nat.* 7.26.2 *salubri caelo semperque vernante*; other cases in Amm. are *caeli inclementia refragante* (15.4.3), *sospitalisque temperies caeli* (23.6.46), *caeli apud eos iucunda salubrisque temperies* (23.6.67). The combination of snow and frost is somewhat stereotypical: *per nives... et acumina crudelium pruinarum* (17.9.4), *colentes nivales terras et pruinosas* (23.6.43), *nivesque et pruinas... perferet* (27.6.9). The words *rigente tunc caelo nivibus et pruinis* clearly indicate that the events described in this and the following sections took place in the winter months, i.e. the winter of 367–368; Lenski, 2002, 171; Lenski, 2007, 123.

Military success appeared to be out of reach, so that the presence of a eunuch came in handy: such a man was able to cajole like a woman. Some translators assume that *muliebria* substitutes a gen. obiectivus: “Schmeicheleien gegenüber Frauen” (Seyfarth), “caresser les femmes” (Marić), “wheeling a woman” (Hamilton). It is doubtful whether there are any convincing parallels for such an interpretation, but apart from that Amm. clearly refers to the womanish conduct of eunuchs, as he did in his memorable phrase *spadonum gracilentis vocibus* (21.16.16). See for a list of examples in which men behaving like women are mentioned with scorn TLL VIII 1570.5–29 and cf. especially Sen. *Contr.* 1 *praef.* 8 *ad muliebres blanditias extenuare vocem*. Remarkably, this is a unique instance of the word *palpamentum* (see TLL X 1.160.5–7), which looks

like a more ‘vulgar’ equivalent of *blandimentum*. Rolfe’s “cajoling like a woman” and Viansino’s “palpeggiamenti da donna” are correct. Amm. uses various phrases denoting safe conduct: the solemn formula of the present text contrasts with the more simple phrases in 17.13.22 *accepta itaque publica fide* and 26.6.14 *fide salutis data*; a condition is introduced in 19.9.5 *accepta fide, quod, si tuto licuerit, sequetur coniugem libens*, the contents are added in 20.7.7 *acceptaque fide, quod redire permetteretur incolumis* (q.v.); the formula in 31.15.5 *fide retinendae salutis accepta* repeats the present phrase in a positive way.

et cum socio ad interiora susceptus, ut postulavit, suadebat minaciter defensoribus et reginae motum Saporis inclementissimi omnium lenire deditione veloci In the *Res Gestae* the verb *suscipere* often, but not always (see the note ad 22.14.1 *nulla probabili*), is a synonym of *accipere*. This is the case here, too: Cylaces was ‘received’ in the town and then ‘was advising’ his hosts to capitulate with due speed: the ind. imperf. indicates a process which was going on, but did apparently not meet with success, so that the urgency of the advice was emphasized by threats. These consisted in references to king Sapor’s bad temper. In this respect the Persian king was the opposite of Julian, who in spite of his irritation, which was caused by the Antiochenes, kept his emotions under control: *motumque in animi retinens potestate* (22.14.3, q.v.). This was impossible for a mighty barbarian, who was an utterly ruthless person (*inclementissimi*), the absolute opposite of what a responsible ruler should be.

- 12.7** *multis post haec ultro citroque dictitatis heulanteque muliere truces mariti fortunas prodicionis acerrimi compulsores in misericordiam flexi mutavere consilium* The phrase *multis ultro citroque dictitatis* also occurs in 21.12.4 (q.v.) and 24.8.2 (q.v.); cf. also 16.2.3 *multa ultro citroque dicebantur* and the note ad 25.6.1 *Quae dum*. Dictionaries list the verb *heulare* as *eiulare*, an onomatopoeic word “kontaminiert aus Weheruf *ei* und *ululare*” (Leumann 551). See for other examples of “falsche Zusetzung eines *h-*” Leumann 174. The verb is not avoided by prestigious authors; Amm. has three other examples: 14.7.17, 18.6.10, 28.1.37. Compared to the singular, the plural of *fortuna* is far less frequent in the *Res Gestae*, but with fifteen instances it is not a rarity. Like the singular, it has a variety of meanings; in the present text it is used “de vicissitudinibus singulorum” (TLL VI 1.1176.71). In the note ad 25.9.5 *Appositis* it is wrongly stated that in the present text *compulsor* is a t.t. in the field of taxation, as in 22.6.1 (q.v.). In fact, it has the same meaning as in 25.9.5, viz. ‘a person who is

constraining'. The combination with the superlative of *acer*, 'energetic', emphasizes the unexpected turning point in the affair: instead of pushing through the capitulation, Cylaces and Arrabannes were moved to compassion and developed an entirely different plan.

et spe potiorum erecti secretis colloquiis ordinarunt hora praestituta nocturna reclusis subito portis validam manum erumpere vallumque hostile caedibus aggredi repentinis, ut lateant id temptantes polliciti se provisos See the note ad 20.4.5 *spe potiorum erectus* for a discussion of this phrase; cf. also 17.13.33 *aucta spe potiorum*. Cylaces and Arrabannes were roused by the prospect of higher rewards. Amm.'s 28 instances of *ordinare* can be put into four categories. In some 40% of the cases it means 'to arrange', e.g. 17.12.17 *Quibus ordinatis*, 25.6.1 *Quae dum ultro citroque ordinantur*; the meaning 'to appoint' is also well represented, e.g. 20.9.8 *magistrum enim officiorum iam pridem ipse Anatolium ordinavit* (q.v.), 22.11.4 *episcopus Alexandriae est ordinatus* (q.v.). In fewer instances it means "to draw up soldiers in a formation" (OLD s.v. 2), e.g. 16.12.32 *alios... aptius ordinans* (q.v.), or 'to order', e.g. 14.3.1 *Nohodares... incursare Mesopotamiam... ordinatus* (q.v.), 26.1.5 *ut ordinatum est*. In the present text the best choice at first sight seems to be 'to arrange', but in the entire scene inside the beleaguered town Cylaces and Arrabannes are portrayed as the protagonists who dominate the negotiations, so that 'to order' is perhaps a better choice.

Sabbah 590–591 compares the narrative structure of the preparation and the successful execution of the unexpected sortie with the report of the sally of the Gallic soldiers from Amida in 19.6.7–8. Amm. resorts to "l'utilisation d'une structure déjà éprouvée". This comparison is convincing, in that it does not concern the words and phrases, which are quite different in the two cases, but the structural elements. Individual phrases have parallels in other passages; cf. *reclusis subito portis... erumpere* with 24.5.8 *multitudo patefactis subito portis erupit*, 26.8.3 *clausi apud Nicaeam patefactis subito portis egressi*, and *validam manum* with 20.11.22 *strictis gladiis valida manus erupit*, but also Liv. 44.35.11 *spem cepit, si nocte improvise valida manu adgressus necopinantis esset, deici praesidia posse*. See for *vallum* denoting a camp surrounded by a palisade the note ad 22.4.8 *sub Maximiano*. The plural of *caedes* occurs in many authors; in Amm. e.g. 19.2.14 *nox finem caedibus fecit*, 24.4.20 *sanguine utrimque multis caedibus fuso*, 27.9.1 *caedibus et rapinis intenta*. Cylaces and Arrabannes promised to see to it that the warriors of the *valida manus* could carry out the attack 'without being noticed': as Wagner notes, *lateant... temptantes* can be regarded as a Grecism (λάθῳσι ἐπιχειροῦντες). TLL VII

2.997.7–16 contains a small list of instances of *latere* with participle; the first is Tert. *Paen.* 10.8 *An melius est damnatum latere quam palam absolvi?* The present text is also mentioned, but not 30.7.6 *ne latere usquam hostis ad nostra se proripiens possit*.

- 12.8** *quibus religione firmatis egressi biduumque ad deliberandum, quid capessere debeant, sibi concedi clausos petisse asseverantes in desidia obsessores traduxerunt* The term *religio* can be interpreted here as metonymical shorthand for ‘sacred oath’. See the notes ad 25.7.14 *aeque iuris* and 25.9.4 *iuris iurandi* for the sacred character of the oath. Cf. for *clausos*, ‘the besieged’, 14.2.19 *illud tamen clausos vehementer angebat*, 21.12.7 *erecti in audaciam clausi*, 26.8.3 *clausi apud Nicaeam*. Both *obsessor* and *desidia* occur only here in Amm. Cf. for *traducere*, “to cause to change (from one habit, attitude, etc. to another)” (OLD s.v. 6) 17.1.2 (*exercitum*) *in voluntatem traduxerat suam* (q.v.), 26.10.3 *ad societatem suam parva mercede traduci posse existimabat* (q.v.).

et vigiliis, quibus ob securitatem altiore stertitur somno, civitatis aditu reserato iuventus exsiluit velox Is the relative clause *quibus...somno* restrictive or non-restrictive? In view of *altiore...somno* the former possibility is definitely the more likely one as a picturesque description of the dead of night: ‘during those of the four periods of the nightly watch in which people are snoring in their deepest sleep because they feel safe, free from worries’. See the note ad 21.12.25 *securitatem* for the two meanings of *securitas*, subjectively ‘absence of anxiety or care’ and objectively ‘absence of danger’. Obviously the latter does not suit the present text, whereas the former fits perfectly, as is also confirmed by *nihil metuentium*, which follows it almost immediately. See also Brink’s enlightening note ad Hor. *Ep.* 2.1.176 *securus*.

passibusque insonis expeditis mucronibus repens, cum castra nihil metuentium invasissent, iacentes multos nullis resistentibus trucidarunt The adj. *insonus* is very rare; Amm. has one other instance, also in a night scene, a phrase which resembles the present text in more than one way: 29.5.54 *insonis gradibus...manibus repens et pedibus*. Cf. 28.2.8 *expeditis...gladiis*, 30.1.21 *expedito dolone* (‘dagger’) and 20.11.23 *repentes incurvi*. Note that singular *repens* fits in with *iuventus*, but that the predicates *invasissent* and *trucidarunt* are examples of the *constructio ad sensum*.

haec inopina defectio necesque insperatae Persarum inter nos et Saporem discordiarum excitavere causas immanes The events described in § 7 and 8

took the Persians completely by surprise: they had never expected that Cylaces and Arrabannes would go over to the Roman side. It waked up ‘enormous’ reasons for disagreements between Sapor and ‘us’ Romans. Remarkably, the adj. *immanis* denoting ‘excess’ (see the note ad 21.4.6 *ne... immanissimus*) is not combined with *discordiarum*, but with *causas*. This can be explained, however, by taking the verb *excitare* to mean ‘to awaken’: the huge motives had been slumbering, but now they were wide awake.

12.9

illo etiam accedente, quod Arsacis filium Papam suadente matre cum paucis e munimento digressum susceptumque imperator Valens apud Neocaesaream morari praecepit, urbem Polemoniaci Ponti notissimam, liberali victu curandum et cultu Valens’ overt protection of the Armenian heir to the throne was an added thorn in Sapor’s flesh. Neocaesarea was the metropolis of the Roman province Pontus Polemoniacus, which bordered on the south-eastern coast of the Black Sea, and was situated northwest of Armenia. Blomgren 156 breaks a lance for V’s *neo apud caesaream* as a case of tmesis, as in 22.8.41 *paene est insula*, but in the note ad loc. it is pointed out that the Latin phrase for ‘peninsula’ usually consists of two words. Cf. for *morari*, ‘to stay for a time’, 14.10.2 *dumque ibi diu moratur*, 16.10.20 *cupiens itaque augustissima omnium sede morari*, 20.4.11 (Paris) *ubi morabatur adhuc Caesar*, 23.3.2 *ibi moratus aliquot dies*. The combination of *victus* and *cultus*, which also occurs in 23.6.49 and 31.2.21, can be found in many authors, e.g. more than a dozen times in Cicero. In this combination *victus* denotes nourishment and *cultus* the other aspects of human comfort, such as shelter and clothing. The adj. *liberalis* denotes generous hospitality; cf. 20.4.13 *liberaliter... suscepti*, 20.11.1 *summaque liberalitate susceptum*, 30.2.6 *quo suscepto liberaliter et magnifice*. Papa (PLRE I, Papa) escaped from the fortress of Artogerassa in the winter of 367–368 and made his way to Valens, who at that time was spending the winter in Marcianopolis in Moesia; Lenski, 2002, 127. On 28 March 368 – for the date see the note ad 27.5.5 *Anno secuto* – Themistius delivered an oration on the occasion of Valens’ quinquennalia in Marcianopolis in which he possibly refers to Papa’s arrival; Or. 8.116 b–c Ἐκεῖνο μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἀπεικότως ὁ Πρίαμος μακαρίζει τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα, ὅτι Φρυγῶν πλείονας ἤγε στρατιώτας ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος· σὲ δὲ ἤδη τις τὰ σκῆπτρα ὑπεριδὼν τὰ πατρώα, καὶ ταῦτα οὐκ ἀφανοῦς βασιλείας, μετανάστης ἦκει δορυφορήσων, ἀγαθὸν οἰώνισμα τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἑω τροπαίων. (‘It is not without reason that Priam called Agamemnon blessed because the soldiers he brought from Greece were greater in

number than the Phrygians. Now, to you recently came a man who, disdaining his ancestral throne – and that of no obscure kingdom – comes as a wanderer to bear arms: a good omen of victories in the East’); Lenski, 2002, 171; see, however, Hoffmann, 1978, 314, and Heather & Matthews, 1991, 23, 31 n. 56, who consider this to be a reference to the Hiberian prince Bacurius (*PLRE* I, Bacurius). Valens sent Papa back to Neocaesarea, also called Kabeira (modern Niksar); Talbert 87 B4; Olshausen, 2000. There he spent the rest of 368. Pontus Polemoniacus, which existed at least since 325, was a province of the diocese Pontica; Jones 1458; Eadie, 1967, 159. Amm. is the main source for Papa; Ps. P’awstos Buzand (4.55, 5.1–6, 22–24, 29–32) and Movsēs Xorennac’i 3.29, 36–39) provide additional information. Amm. mentions him also in 30.1.3–15, 18–21 and 30.2.1. He was married to Zermanducht and was father of Arsaces IV and Valarsaces; Ps. P’awstos Buzand 5.37, 43–44. See further e.g. Grousset, 1947, 143–152; Blockley, 1975, 62–72.

qua humanitate Cylaces et Arrabannes illecti missis oratoribus ad Valentem auxilium eundemque Papam sibi regem tribui poposcerunt See for *humanitas* as specifically referring to hospitality the second part of the note ad 21.6.4 *in culmine*. TLL IX 2.893.65–66 restricts the meaning ‘envoy’ for *orator* to cases in which “munus oratoris explicatur in contextu vocibus petendi, rogandi, supplicandi sim.” A fine example is Verg. *A.* 7.152–155 *tum satus Anchisa delectos ordine ab omni / centum oratores augusta ad moenia regis / ire iubet, ramis velatos Palladis omnis, / donaque ferre viro pacemque exposcere Teucris*. Cf. also Sal. *Jug.* 108.1 *Aspar...praemissus ab Iugurtha...orator*. Other examples in Amm. are 14.10.14, 17.1.12 *petiere missis oratoribus pacem*, 25.7.5 *super fundanda pace oratores...mittunt*, 31.4.1.

The hospitable and favourable treatment of Papa by Valens prompted Cylaces and Arrabannes to send envoys to the emperor with the request to install Papa as king of Armenia and to help them with setting up a pro-Roman government in Armenia; *auxilium* refers to assistance in a military sense. The Armenian embassy was sent in the winter months of 368/69. According to Movsēs Xorennac’i 3.36) the Armenian *catholicus* Narses requested the return of Papa; Ps. P’awstos Buzand (4.55, 5.1) mentions Mušele, a general from the influential Mamikonean family, who asked for Papa’s return and re-established him on the Armenian throne with the help of a Roman army under the command of Terentius, after having destroyed the Persian commanders Zik and Karen; see further Blockley, 1975, 62. It seems that in particular the Armenian

Christians were pro-Roman; they wanted a king who was favoured by the Roman emperor, in order to curb not only the increasing influence of the Sasanids in Armenia but also the spread of the Magian religion. The Christian interests, and particularly the role played by Narses in the affairs regarding Armenia which took place during these years are totally omitted by Amm., although they are prominent in the Armenian sources and relevant to the events he is describing; Barnes 81.

Sed pro tempore adiumentis negatis per Terentium ducem Papa reducitur in Armeniam recturus interim sine ullis insignibus gentem, quod ratione iusta est observatum, ne fracti foederis nos argueremur et pacis Valens must have refused military support for the reason that at this stage he did not want to break the arrangement made in 363, which stipulated that Rome would not come to the aid of the Armenian king. For the same reason, according to Amm., Papa was not adorned with the usual regalia. Valens first wanted to end his war with the Goths, before embarking on a military adventure against the Persians over suzerainty in Armenia; breaking a peace agreement was probably not as important. Terentius (*PLRE* I, Terentius 2) was *comes et dux Armeniae* in approximately the years 369–374. Amm. consistently calls him *dux* and characterizes him as a person who encouraged dissensions; 30.1.2 *Terentius dux demisse ambulans semperque submaestus, sed quoad vixerat, acer dissensionum instinator*. Basil of Caesarea, with whom Terentius maintained good relations, calls him κόμης in his letters; *Ep.* 99, 105, 214 and 215. Letters 99 and 214 were addressed to Terentius. The fact that Terentius installed Papa on the Armenian throne is dealt with in the previous note. Later he plotted against Papa and advised Valens to appoint someone else as king of Armenia to prevent the region from falling into Persian hands; 30.1.2–4. He was involved in the plot to murder Papa; *Ps. P'awstos Buzand* 5.32. Terentius was an orthodox and pious Christian and when Valens wanted to give him a reward for his service in Armenia he is said to have asked for a church for the orthodox Christians; *Thdt. HE* 4.32. His daughters were deaconesses; *Basil. Ep.* 105.

Terentius, as well as Arintheus (see below), is possibly referred to in *Them. Or.* 11.149 b Καὶ οἱ μὲν στρατηγοὶ οὕτω χωρὶς περιστάντες ὁ μὲν τοῦ Καυκάσου ἀποπειρᾶται, ὁ δὲ Ἀλβανῶν καὶ Ἰβήρων, ὁ δὲ ἀνασφύζεται Ἀρμενίους ('And thus the generals were separately sent to the front: the one was sent away to the Caucasus, the other to the Albanians and Iberians, and another one to restore Armenia'). See Leppin & Portmann, 1998, 208 n. 29 and 31.

As in other instances of *pro tempore* translators tend to regard this phrase as meaning ‘for the moment’. See, however, the note ad 24.3.8, where it is pointed out that, in fact, it means ‘in accordance with the situation’; cf. Marié’s “dans les circonstances présentes”. The Romans decided to keep a low profile, and refrained from military reinforcements. See for *adiumenta* as a synonym of *auxilia* in a military sense 23.2.1, where embassies of many peoples promised *auxilia* for the Persian expedition, but met with Julian’s refusal: *nequaquam decere adventiciis adiumentis rem vindicari Romanam*; cf. also 26.10.4 *adiumenta Valenti laturus* and the note ad 27.3.12 *ad usque*.

See for *per* denoting the direct Agents in a passive construction Szantyr 127 and the notes ad 22.8.12 *inter Ionas*, 23.6.24 *qua per duces*, 26.6.14 *doctusque*. King Papa was not allowed to wear a *diadema*, such as Sapor had given to Aspacures in his capacity as king of Hiberia (above, § 4). In 27.4.1 *ratione iusta* is explained by a causal clause, beginning with *quod*, here by a final clause: preventing the accusation of breaking the peace agreement.

12.11 *hoc comperto textu gestorum Sapor ultra hominem efferatus concitis maioribus copiis Armenios aperta praedatione vastabat* The Roman low profile measures did not prevent Sapor’s disproportionate reaction. Seager 56 notes that *efferatus* is “more common of foreigners than Romans”. Nevertheless, some Roman rulers were known to have behaved like this: Gallus in 14.1.10 *acrius efferatus*, Valentinian in 28.1.11 *his ille cognitis efferatus*, Valens in 29.1.38. See for *textus gestorum*, ‘the train of events’, the notes ad 20.4.11 *quo textu* and 25.10.6 *gestorumque* and for *ultra* in phrases denoting excess Seager 5. Some examples in Amm.: 22.8.25 *ultra omnem deinde ferociam saevierunt* (q.v.), 22.9.1 *ultra homines iam spirabat* (q.v.), 24.5.2 *ultra omnem rabiem saevientes*, 26.6.8 *ultra mortale tumens* (q.v.), 26.8.13 *ultra homines sese Procopius efferens* (q.v.). Note the contrast between *adiumentis negatis* (§ 10) on the Roman side and Sapor’s *concitis maioribus copiis*, ‘having mustered larger forces’, and also between Sapor’s first moves (*per artes fallendo diversas* in § 2) and his “devastation of Armenia without disguise” (tr. Hamilton). The imperf. *vastabat* denotes an ongoing process, during which Papa and his new friends took refuge in the mountains.

It is not known when exactly Papa came back to Armenia, but if the embassy to Valens took place in the winter of 368/369, Papa presumably returned in the spring of 369. Sapor probably heard soon afterwards that Papa had been installed on the throne and, after mustering

his forces, started laying waste to Armenia in the summer months of the same year.

cuius adventu territus Papa itidemque Cylaces et Arrabannes nulla circumspicientes auxilia celsorum montium petivere secessus limites nostros disterrimantes et Lazicam As is pointed out in the note ad loc., in 21.4.8 *dum gladios circumspiciunt et tela* the verb *circumspicere* means “to look around for” (OLD s.v. 3). It has this meaning also in 16.12.38 *equites nihil praeter fugae circumspicientes praesidia*. In the present text, however, *circumspicientes* either means ‘seeing around them’ or as a shorthand of sorts ‘looking around for help, but not seeing any’. See for *secessus*, ‘remote corner’, the note ad 23.6.61 *velut agentes*, where the possible connotation ‘refuge’ is also mentioned, which suits the present text very well, so that Gelenius’ alternative for V’s *cessus* can be regarded as reliable. Because the mountains rather than their remote hideaways form the boundary, *disterrimantes* is best interpreted as a case of enallage. See the notes ad 20.6.6 *coagmenta*, 21.12.17 *attenuatis*, 22.13.4 *aquarum*, 23.6.74 *orae maritimae*, 26.1.4 *Et rumore* and 26.6.17 *accendebatur* for other possible instances of enallage.

Because Papa was without military support from the Romans, and in all probability did not have enough forces at his disposal to resist Sapor, he had no option but to take refuge. This must have taken place at the end of the summer or the beginning of the autumn of 369. Lazica or Λαζική (Procop. *Pers.* 1.11.28; Agath. 2.18.4) was the term for Colchis in late-antique and early Byzantine sources; it was coined after the tribe of the Lazi who had gained hegemony in Colchis in the fourth century. On Lazica in the fourth century see Braund, 1994, 262–267.

ubi per silvarum profunda et flexuosos colles mensibus quinque delitescens regis multiformes lusere conatus The phrase *silvarum profunda* also occurs in Tac. *Ag.* 25.1 *silvarum ac montium profunda* and Fron. *Str.* 1.3.10 *in profunda silvarum*. See the note ad 20.5.5 *fluminis profundo* and cf. 14.2.7 *edita montium*, 31.2.15 *longa petiere terrarum* and 31.9.2 *per montium celsa*. The adj. *flexuosus* is a slightly surprising description of ‘hills’; it is registered in TLL VI 1.52–62 as an instance of *flexuosus* used about “partes terrae”. Amm. probably means the hilly country with its many twisting paths. See for the abl. of duration *mensibus quinque* the note ad 20.6.5 *diebus aliquot*. See for a comparable case of *ludere* 26.8.3, where it is reported

that the emperor Valens might have been trapped by the troops of Procopius, *ni... instantem vestigiis hostem per Sunonensem lacum et fluminis Galli sinuosos amfractus propere discedendo frustra sequentem lusisset* (q.v.).

- 12.12** *qui operam teri frustra contemplans sidere flagrante brumali pomiferis exustis arboribus castellisque munitis et castris, quae ceperat superata vel prodita, cum omni pondere multitudinis Artogerassam circumsaepit et post varios certaminum casus laxatis defensoribus patefactam incendit; Arsacis uxorem erutam inde cum thesauris abduxit* In the long list of examples of *operam* as the direct object of verbs in TLL IX 2.666.16–84 *terere* is not mentioned. Here it means ‘to use up’ (without effect and therefore the equivalent of ‘to waste’). See the notes ad 16.12.15 *sidere urente brumali*, 20.7.11 *ante brumale sidus*, 22.13.4 *sidere etiamtum instante brumali*. These phrases seem to be idiosyncratic of Amm., and were perhaps inspired by Gel. 1.2.2 *sidere autumnii flagrantissimo*. In the present text the dead of winter is indicated. Destroying fruit trees is a drastic measure, because it would take years before fruit could be harvested from newly planted trees. In Revelation 6.5 the rider on the black horse is instructed not to harm the oil and the wine. Aune ad loc. interprets this as an order to spare the vineyards and olive trees and refers to Paus. 4.7.1, where the Spartans during their raids in Messenia did loot the cattle and the corn, but οὐδὲ δένδρα ἔκοπτον. See for the combination of *castra* and *castella* the note ad 27.4.6 *et Hister*. Gelenius’ addition *vel prodita* is indispensable: cf. 27.10.4 *superari vel prodi* (q.v.). Amm. has a predilection for *pondus*, e.g., as in the present text, to describe the huge weight of a densely packed mass; cf. 18.8.8 *trudente pondere plebis immensae* (q.v.) and 24.5.8 *in unum pondus coacta multitudo* (q.v.). Amm.’s use of stereotyped phrases continues; cf. 15.9.1 *inter... proeliorumque varios casus*, 25.1.19 *inter varios certaminum casus*. In his bilingual edition Seyfarth prints Gelenius’ *lassatis*, like Valesius, Wagner and Clark. He changed his mind and Marié goes along with him, no doubt misguidedly: for *laxari*, ‘to weaken’, about persons there are no parallels. The ‘poetic’ verb *lassare*, ‘to make tired’ (see the note ad 25.1.18 *solis cursu*) is found in only five other passages, e.g. the nearest parallel of the present text 28.1.17 *Carthaginiensibus victus inopia iam lassatis*. One can easily imagine a scribe mistakenly writing a form of the more frequent verb *laxare*. Cf. for *eruerere*, ‘to pull out (of a hiding place)’, Tac. *Hist.* 3.83.1 *abditos... erui iugularique expostulantes* (see Heubner ad loc.), Curt. 4.14.4 *inbelles ex latebris suis erutos*, *Cod. Theod.* 7.18.9 *ut... qui occultatus fuerit eruatur*.

This was the second siege of Artogerassa; the first had been carried out by Cylaces and Arrabannes and is mentioned in § 6 of this chapter. Like the first one, it took place in winter, i.e. the winter of 369/70. Ps. P'awstos Buzand (4.55) has the improbable information that there was one single siege of Artogerassa which lasted for thirteen months; see on this Lenski, 2007, 102–103. For Arsaces' wife Pharandzem see the note above ad 27.12.5 *isdemque*. After the capture of Artogerassa Armenia is said to have fallen into Persian hands, Christian places of worship were destroyed and the Magian religion was introduced; Ps. P'awstos Buzand 4.58–59.

Quas ob causas ad eas regiones Arintheus cum exercitu mittitur comes suppetias laturus Armeniis, si eos exagitare procinctu gemino temptaverint Persae Understandably, the developments in Armenia were a considerable worry to the Romans. Sapor's invasion of Armenia prompted Valens to send troops to the region in order to prevent the Persians both from carrying out other invasions and from attempting to bring Armenia under their control. Rome's military intervention in Armenia meant the violation of the agreement of 363, which stipulated that Rome would not come to the help of the Armenian king; until then Valens had kept to this agreement. For this reason it was necessary to send a prominent and experienced military stalwart to bring assistance in case the Persians would repeat their fierce attack on Armenia. As will become clear in § 15, Arintheus' presence was effective. TLL V 2.1152.73–75 lists the present instance of *exagitare* and the one in 31.7.16 *exagitasse barbaram plebem* among examples of the verb with the meaning 'to harass' with towns or peoples as Patiens. See for *procinctus*, 'campaign', the notes ad 16.11.6 *procinctum* and 20.1.3 *festinaret*. TLL VI 1747.7–31 lists a number of cases in which *geminus* means "iteratus, repetitus"; see for Amm.'s predilection of this use of *geminus* the note ad 21.13.1 *obsidione gemina*.

12.13

The *magister peditum* Arintheus, and probably also the troops, came from the Danube region where they had fought against the Goths since 367; Arintheus had together with Victor conducted the peace negotiations with the Goths (27.5.9). Valens had concluded his Gothic wars in the late summer or autumn of 369. Thanks to the peace settlement with the Goths – for its date see the note ad 27.5.9 *recte noscentibus* – troops had become available to be sent to the east. In all likelihood, the troops spent the winter in Marcianopolis before they marched for Armenia early in 370 as soon as weather conditions permitted; Lenski, 2007, 103–104, has the improbable suggestion that Arintheus already

marched for Armenia in the late autumn of 369. For the *magister peditum* Arintheus, one of Valens' most experienced generals, see the notes ad 24.1.2 *Arintheo*, 25.5.2 *Arintheus*, and 26.8.4 *Arintheum*. Them. Or. 11.149 b may refer to him; see the note above ad § 10 *Sed pro*. Possibly the officer named At(t)é or Ade in Armenian sources is to be identified with Arintheus; Blockley, 1975, 187–188 (Appendix D). See, however, Baynes, 1910, 638 who identifies this At(t)é/Ade as Addaeus, *comes domesticorum* under Theodosius I (*PLRE* I, Addaeus).

12.14 *Inter quae Sapor, immensum quantum astutus et, cum sibi conducere, humilis aut elatus, societatis futurae specie Papam ut incuriosum sui per latentes nuntios increpabat* For Amm.'s characterization of Sapor, see the note above ad § 1 *Rex vero*. It is not known when Sapor sent his messengers to Papa to persuade him to transfer his allegiance to the Persians, but presumably this was when Papa was still in hiding in Lazica in the winter of 369/370.

The phrase *immensum quantum* also occurs in 16.7.5, 16.12.61 and 29.6.1. In the note ad 23.6.78 *immane quantum* some comparable hyperbolic expressions are mentioned. As is pointed out ad 21.16.16 *uxoribus*, such phrases should not be regarded as Grecisms. The negative connotation of *astutus* is brought out in Cic. *Fin.* 3.57, where cheating is said to be *non viri boni, versuti potius, obscuri, astuti, fallacis* etc. Amm.'s only other instances also concern harming others: 14.10.5 *quod... cogitabatur astute*, 31.15.7 (about the Goths) *astutum iniere consilium*; cf. also the note ad 26.7.3 *subditivos*. See for *conducere*, 'to be profitable', the note ad 21.5.7 *in commune*.

The combination *humilis* – *elatus* first occurs in the description of a chariot race in Verg. *G.* 3.108–109: (the horses) *iamque humiles iamque elati sublime videntur / aera per vacuum ferri atque adsurgere in auras*, quoted in Macr. *Sat.* 5.13.7. However, Amm.'s phrase was probably inspired by Cic. *Tusc.* 5.24 *non est ausus elate et ample loqui cum humiliter demisseque sentiret*. In the present text both *elatus* and *humilis* concern conduct, not social rank; cf. 21.16.1 (Constantius) *popularitatem elato animo contemnebat et magno*, 22.7.1 (about Julian) *humilior princeps visus est in officio pedibus gradiendo*. Presumably, Amm. means that Sapor did not try to influence Papa by using his full imperial power, but rather by shrewdly playing with the Armenian king's pride and the empty suggestion (*specie*) of a future alliance. The verb *increpare* does not necessarily imply aggressiveness; the reproach can be meant to be stimulating, e.g. Julian's words to fleeing cavalrymen: *eosdem lenius increpans Caesar "quo", inquit, "cedimus,*

virī fortissimi?” (16.12.40). Sapor’s reproach (*incuriosum sui*) in fact means: ‘you should first of all look after your own interests’.

quod maiestatis regiae velamento Cylaci serviret et Arrabanni, quos ille praeceps blanditiarum illecebris interfecit capitaque caesorum ad Saporem ut ei morigerus misit The reproach of the Persian king is now made more explicit: Papa’s position as king of Armenia was a mere smokescreen for his servile conduct towards Cylaces and Arrabannes. Another clear example of *velamentum* concealing reality is 14.11.11 *velamento subagrestis ingenii persuasionis opifex callidus*, “who under a blunt exterior concealed consummate skill in the art of persuasion” (tr. Hamilton). Sapor’s remark proved to be a direct hit. Papa was immediately persuaded by his enticing flatteries to get rid of his ‘masters’, whose slave he had become. He posted their heads to the Persian king, not as a token of his triumph, but *ut ei morigerus*. The implication of this adj. can be illustrated by 24.3.8 (after a persuasive speech by Julian to his army) *miles... regibilem se fore pollicitus et morigerum*, and 26.4.3 (after Valens’ official nomination as Augustus Valentinian took his brother in his carriage) *in modum apparitoris morigerum* (q.v.). Papa had freed himself of his Armenian ‘masters’, but not of his own servility.

Soon after he must again have changed sides since in 30.1.1 Papa is called *rex Armeniae*. Although this is not explicitly mentioned by Amm., it is generally assumed that Arintheus led Papa out of Lazica and installed him on the Armenian throne in the spring of 370; Lenski, 2007, 104 with n. 24. Amm. has one other instance of the sending of an enemy’s head, namely that of Procopius which was sent to Valentinian in Gaul; 26.10.6; 27.2.10. The display of heads as evidence that the enemy had indeed been killed was, at least among the Romans, a long-standing and common practice; see the note ad 26.10.6 *maximeque*.

Hac clade late diffusa Armenia omnis perisset impugnata, ni Arinthei adventu terribi Persae eam incursare denuo distulissent hoc solo contenti, quod ad imperatorem misere legatos petentes nationem eandem, ut sibi et Ioviano placuerat, non defendi The *miles quondam* (31.16.9) will have written this with considerable satisfaction: the mere arrival of an experienced general reduced the traditional enemy to verbal assault.

12.15

It was, of course, not the ‘disaster’, consisting in Papa unexpectedly changing his alliance, which spread, but the news about it. TLL V 1.1110.48–49 lists the present case of *diffundere* as “omissa voce fama”, a sort of abbreviation of phrases like *rumores... diffundere* (25.8.12). Henricus

Valesius presents his correction of V's text with the words "haud paulo elegantius scribi posse". In fact, this is convincing, the more so because, as is noted ad 26.5.12 *uisque*, Amm.'s instances of *impropugnatus* seem to be the only ones which deserve to be regarded as reliable. With *denuo* Amm. reminds his readers of the Persian aggression reported in the first half of the present chapter. As to *eandem*, see for *idem* in a purely anaphoric sense the note ad 20.4.5 *cum isdem*. For Amm. Jovian's pact with Sapor was an *indignum imperio facinus* (25.9.8, q.v.). It was a real trauma, to which he returned in 26.4.6 (Sapor refers to Jovian) *cum quo foedera firmarat et pacem*, 27.12.1 *pudendae pacis foedera*, 30.2.3 *consciū pacis foederatae cum Ioviano*. The use of *sibi* implies that *placuerat* should be regarded as a case of an indicative in a subordinate clause in an oratio obliqua; see for this Hassenstein 37–38 and Szantyr 548.

Presumably in the spring of 370 Arintheus' arrival halted the advance of the Persians and prevented a second invasion. Militarily Sapor was apparently not equal to Arintheus and his forces and all he could do was to send envoys to Valens, protesting against Rome's military presence in Armenia. The Persian embassy was probably sent in the summer when Valens was already in the East. The emperor is attested as being at Antioch on 30 April 370 and in Hierapolis on 10 August 370; *Cod. Theod.* 10.19.5 and 1.29.5 with Pergami, 1993, 448 and 503, Schmidt-Hofner, 2008, 544–547 and 511; Lenski, 2007, 105.

- 12.16** *quibus repudiatis Sauromaces pulsus, ut ante diximus, Hiberiae regno cum duodecim legionibus et Terentio remittitur* For Sauromaces see the note ad § 4 above, and for Terentius the note ad § 10. Terentius reinstated Sauromaces on the throne of Hiberia in the summer of 370. Supposedly, Arintheus' and Terentius' military interventions, and the reinstatement of Papa and Sauromaces in respectively Armenia and Hiberia, were carefully prepared and joined operations. Sapor had no immediate answer to Rome's interference in Armenia and Hiberia. Cf. for *repudiare* with envoys as Patiens instead of their claims or proposals 29.5.11 *legationem secundam Firmi repudiavit*, 31.4.13 *quibus... repudiatis*. The Romans regarded the regaining of Hiberia as a very serious objective, and deployed no fewer than twelve legions. There were considerably more legions in the late Empire – the *Notitia Dignitatum* lists 174 – than in the early centuries of the Empire; however, the late-antique legions were significantly smaller. Because of the scrappy evidence, limited in quantity and inconclusive, the size of army units is very hard to establish – see for a discussion e.g. Coello, 1996, Nicasic, 1998, 48–49 and Lee, 2007, 76 – and, besides,

the size of the late-antique legion is not exactly known; Elton, 1996, 89 mentions the number of 1.200 as do Southern & Dixon, 1996, 56 following Várady, 1961, 367–368; according to Coello, 1996, 24–25 and 60 a legion counted perhaps 1000 to 2000 men; Tomlin 2000, 169 suggests a size of 500–1000 men. This means that Terentius’ army consisted of at least 6000 men and probably more.

See for *legio* also the last part of the note ad 25.1.7 *eodem die*.

et eum amni Cyro iam proximum Aspacures oravit, ut socia potestate consobrini regnarent, causatus ideo se nec cedere nec ad partes posse transire Romanas, quod Ultra eius filius obsidis lege tenebatur adhuc apud Persas For the river Cyrus, the modern Kura, which rises in Armenia and flows into the Caspian Sea, see the note ad 23.6.40 *Choaspes*. For Aspacures see the note ad 27.12.4. Thanks to the reference here Ultra is known to posterity, but apart from the information given by Amm. nothing else is known about him. He does not have an entry in the *PLRE*.

Sapor had installed Aspacures as the official ruler of Hiberia (§ 4); Amm. only now notes that he was Sauromaces’ cousin. The phrase *socia potestate*, ‘shared authority’, also occurs in 26.2.8; see the note ad *adhiberi oportere*. See for *partes*, ‘the warring parties’ (engaged in actual hostilities), the notes ad 19.2.14 *partibus* and 25.1.3 *Et cum*. Like 25.9.11 *postquam partes verbis iuravere conceptis*, the present text is not concerned with any specific situation. There is no parallel of the phrase *obsidis lege*, which seems to be a somewhat bold abbreviation in comparison to a more usual phrase like *obsidum patres, quos lege foederis...tenebamus* (28.2.6). Like *placuerat* in § 15, *tenebatur* is an instance of the ind. in a subordinate clause in an oratio obliqua.

Quae imperator doctus, ut concitandas ex hoc quoque negotio turbas consilio prudenti molliret, divisioni acquievit Hiberiae See for *docere aliquem aliquid*, “to inform a person of a fact” (OLD s.v. 1), Kühner-Stegmann 1.298, Szantyr 43; *concitandas* is one of Amm.’s numerous cases of the gerundive functioning as a part. fut. pass.; see the notes ad 20.2.4 *opitulari* and 20.11.24 *alimentis*, Szantyr 139, Odelstierna, 1926. Valens realized that adding a controversy concerning Hiberia to the developments in Armenia would trigger further trouble with Persia, and therefore decided to throw oil on troubled waters. Cf. for comparable instances of *mollire* 20.8.9 *molliri posse tumultum auctoritate ratus* (q.v.), 27.3.12 *nec corrigere sufficiens...nec mollire*. Adducing Cic. *Att.* 2.23.3 *in consiliis prudentia tua*, Blomgren 8–9 defends V’s *prudentia* as an example of asyndeton.

12.17

However, *consilium prudens* in 17.9.2 and 18.6.19, and *prudenti consilio* in 20.7.1 and 25.8.11, all quoted by Blomgren, offer ample support for the emendation *prudenti* printed by Clark, Seyfarth and Marié. More important than the precise text is Amm.'s obvious praise for Valens' sensible course with regard to the Hiberian problem: 'he was satisfied with the partition of Hiberia'; in classical Latin the verb *acquiescere* with this meaning was combined with an abl. or *in* c. abl. (see Kühner-Stegmann 1.400, Szantyr 121), but later the dative came into use. In the note ad 25.4.23 *non Iulianum* the present text is erroneously mentioned as an instance of *acquiescere* meaning 'to listen to'.

ut eam medius dirimeret Cyrus et Sauromaces Armeniis finitima retineret et Lazis, Aspacures Albaniae Persisque contigua Since the lower course of the Cyrus flows in east-west direction, only its upper course, which flows roughly from south to north, can be the boundary line. The territory east of the river was attributed to Aspacures and this indeed borders to the east and south-east on Albania and territory within the Persian sphere of influence. The western part of Hiberia, bordering on Armenia in the south and Lazica in the west, was allotted to Sauromaces; Braund, 1994, 260–261. The map in Hewsens, 2001, 73 is helpful, when one tries to imagine the geographical position of the territories ruled by Sauromaces and Aspacures. For the Albani, see the notes ad 18.6.22 *rex Albanorum* and 23.5.16 *per Albanos*.

- 12.18** *His percitus Sapor pati se exclamans indigna, quod contra foederum textum iuuantur Armenii et evanuit legatio, quam super hoc miserat corrigendo quodque se non assentiente nec conscio dividi placuit Hiberiae regnum* See for Amm.'s predilection for *percitus* with abl. the notes ad 20.11.5 *dolore*, 21.3.1 *nuntio*, 21.9.5 *levibus*. Sapor's claim that the text of the agreements forbade the Romans to come to the aid of Armenia, was rejected by them: see the discussion of the matter in the note ad 26.4.6 *sed iniuste*. For the utter failure of the Persian embassy Sapor is made to use the verb *evanescere*, 'to be reduced to nothing'; see the note ad 26.4.4 *sed hoc evanuit*. Lenski, 2007, 105 and 124 is probably right in supposing that Sapor had sent two embassies to Valens: the first one when Rome had reoccupied Armenia, as related by Amm. in § 15 above, and a second one "to impugn both the Iberian and Armenian dispositions" after Terentius' actions in Hiberia.

See for the alternation of subj. and ind. in *quod*-clauses the note ad 21.7.3 *properaret*; similar cases in *cum*-clauses are dealt with in the

notes ad 22.1.2 *eratque*, 26.7.9 *cum essent* and 27.10.12 *bellum fragore*. In the present text trisyllabic *evanuit* implies a regular *cursus*. Accursius and Gelenius print *evanuerit*, which cannot produce any regular *cursus*. Amm. uses *super* with a gerundive construction more often: 17.14.1 *super turbando Armeniae vel Mesopotamiae statu*, 21.15.4 *super eligendo imperatore*, 25.3.20 *super imperatore vero creando*, 25.5.1 *super creando principe*, 26.5.9 *super appetitu vero Procopii... reprimendo*.

The complaints which Amm. ascribes to Sapor imply that the Persian king did not refer to any specific stipulation concerning Hiberia, but simply regarded it as belonging to his sphere of influence. Decisions about this country could not be made without his approval or knowledge.

velut obseratis amicitiae foribus vicinarum gentium auxilia conquirebat suumque parabat exercitum, ut reserata caeli temperie subverteret omnia, quae ex re sua struxere Romani Valens' restoration of Roman power in Armenia and Hiberia was for Sapor reason enough to declare the peace agreement of 363 null and void and to go to war. Probably in the winter of 370–371 he began to assemble his forces – the Sasanians did not have a standing army; e.g. Widengren, 1976, 280–283 – for his invasion of Armenia in the spring of 371 when weather conditions were good. The account of this invasion is given in 29.1.1. Ps. P'awstos Buzand 5.4 presents a detailed report of the Persian foray and the subsequent battle near the town of Bagawan. Both Ps. P'awstos Buzand and the *Vita Nerses* 11 p. 34–35 report that the Persian army included many allies, among them Urnayr, a Hunnish king.

In its literal sense the phrase *obseratis foribus* occurs sporadically, e.g. Nep. *Di.* 9.4, Suet. *Tit.* 11.1, Apul. *Met.* 9.5; here Amm. combines it with a metaphorical phrase which occurs in Cic. *Fam.* 13.10.4: *amicitiae fores*. TLL VI 1.1063.51–54 lists only these two instances of the metaphor, but a charming example at the end of Hier. *epist.* 145 can be added: *Pulsavi amicitiarum fores: si aperueris, nos crebro habebis hospites*. The phrase *caeli temperies*, 'the mild season', which also occurs in 23.6.46 and 67 (q.v.), can be found in several other authors, but *reserata caeli temperie* is only paralleled in 21.6.7 (q.v.). The present text seems to be a unique case of the contrast between *struere* and *subvertere*: Sapor intended to overturn all that the Romans had built 'in their own interest'; the phrase *e(x) re sua* is far less common than one would have expected: Liv. 32.21.3 and Gel. 4.14.5 seem to be the only cases.

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